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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

पुस्तकालय . .



विषय संख्या

पुस्तक संख्या

आगत पंजिका संख्या

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है । कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें ।

यस्य पुस्तक-विस्तारित-संस्करण
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सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

स्वतन्त्रता दिवस १२-८-१९४७

Vol. IV]

FEBRUARY, 1947

[Part 2

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OF THE
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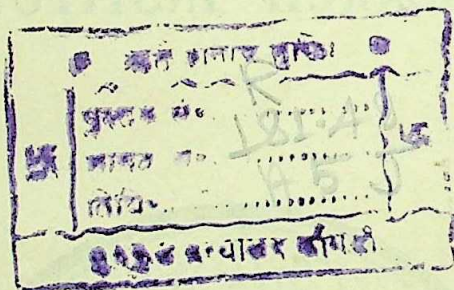


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JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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[Part 2

THE NAVYA-NYĀYA THEORY OF PERCEPTION OF THE ENTIRE DENOTATION AS CON- NOTATION (SĀMĀNYA-LAKṢAṆĀ)

By TARA SANKAR BHATTACHARYA

THE Navya-Nyāya admits an extra-ordinary perception of the entire denotation as connotation, *e.g.*, the perception of all jars as jar-hood. Here, the perception of the connotation or the class-essence is sensuous, but the perception of the entire denotation is extraordinary. There is a sensuous cognition of jar-hood, but the cognition of all jars through jar-hood does not come within the range of sensuous cognition. Hence, it is an extraordinary cognition.

Gangeśa defines invariable concomitance (Vyāpti)¹ as the co-existence of the hetu (the probans, or the reason, or the mark) with the sādhyā (the probandum, or the inferent) which is not determined by the determinant of the negatum whose absolute negation exists in the locus of the

¹ *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Part II, p. 100. "Pratiyogyaśamānādhikaraṇa-yat samānādhikaraṇātyantābhāva-pratiyogitāvaccchedakāvaccinnāni yat na bhavati tena samāni tasya sāmānādhikaraṇāni vyāptiḥ." This definition of Vyāpti or the objective invariable relation between the hetu and the sādhyā can be expressed in simpler terms, if we take the help of symbols. If 'h' stands for the hetu and 's' for the sādhyā and 'a' for the object absent in the locus of the hetu, but not present there, then Vyāpti is the co-existence of 'h' with 's' which is not qualified by the essence of 'a'.

hetu but which itself is absent there and thinks that the knowledge of this invariable concomitance (Vyāpti) is the determining condition of inference. Now after discussing the method of apprehension of invariable concomitance (Vyāpti), *i.e.*, the method of induction, he speaks of an extraordinary perception of the entire denotation as connotation (Sāmānya-lakṣaṇā-pratyāsatti). He says in the beginning of his discussions on sāmānya-lakṣaṇā that the apprehension of Vyāpti is with regard to all smoke through the sāmānya-lakṣaṇā pratyāsatti, *i.e.*, through the (extra-ordinary) perception of the entire denotation (of smoke) as the class-essence (smoke-hood)². Mathurānātha's explanation of Gaṅgeśa's statement is that the perception of the co-existence of the generic essences, smoke-hood and fire-hood, gives the apprehension of the co-existence of all smoke with all fire in which smoke-hood and fire-hood respectively inhere³. Here the cognised generic essence or the cognition of the generic essence is equivalent to the cognition of all individuals.⁴ Raghunātha says that in such a case there is a contact of the sense with the generic essence and the object of this sensuous cognition is a universal. Smoke is united with the sense-organ and smoke-hood is the attribute of that smoke, *i.e.*, smoke-hood is cognised to have for its substantive or subject smoke⁵. Here the external sense-organ has a normal connection with the generic essence, but the apprehension of all the individual instances is mental. The apprehension of all atoms through the essence of an atom is a mental cognition.⁶

But objection may be raised that if there is a sensuous contact with the generic essence or the universal, then there

² *Tattvacintāmaṇi* Part II. p. 253.

³ *Māthurī*, Ibid.

⁴ *Jāgadrūpī*, Vol. I, P. 333.

⁵ *Didhiti*.

⁶ *Ibid*

would be no perception of the substratum of the non-existence of the jar through the perception of this non-existence, the non-existence or absence of the jar being not a universal.⁷

As a reply to this Raghunātha says that a virtue as such may not be an object of knowledge or may be so. When it is not an object of knowledge, its absence is perceived. When jar-hood as such is not perceived, the absence of the jar is perceived. Here there is a sensuous contact with the absence of the jar, which is a virtue of the place where the jar is absent. But when jar-hood is perceived, its substratum or substantive is the jar which is united with the eye and this perception of jar-hood is the cause of the perception of all jars. Here the perception of the effect is extra-ordinary and that of the cause normal and the cause inheres in its substratum.⁸

But objection may be raised that jar-hood, which is perceived through visual sense to inhere in the jar which is conjoined with it (the usual sense), exists in time relation in time and hence inherence is not the determinant relation of jar-hood.⁹

As a reply to this objection, Raghunātha¹⁰ says that the relation in which the generic essence is cognised in its substratum which is united with the sense organ, is the relation in which the substrata of the generic essence are perceived to contain it. In other words, jar-hood which is perceived to inhere in its substratum which again is conjoined with the eye, is the cause of the extraordinary perception of all jars in the relation of inherence, *i.e.*, there is the extra-ordinary perception of all jars in which jar-hood inheres. This perception of the entire denotation is extra-ordinary, because

⁷ *Jāgadīsī*, Vol. I, p. 337.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 338.

⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰ *Dīdhitī*.

it includes the cognition of the past, present and future individuals of the class.¹¹

Thus according to Gaṅgeśa, the (extra-ordinary) perception of the entire denotation through connotation is a fact and the inferential conclusion is arrived at, where it is definitely known that the Pakṣa (the subject of inference) contains the hetu (the reason) as its essence. The inference, "The hill is fiery," is made on the cognition or apprehension that the hill is possessed of smoke as smoke-hood. Indeed, if there is no such extra-ordinary perception of the entire denotation as connotation (sāmānya-lakṣaṇā-pratyāsatti) there would not have been any doubt as to whether smoke is a concomitant of fire or not. In other words, fire is perceived to be related with smoke that is perceived. But an else-where and else-when smoke is not perceived with the senses. So doubt may arise as to whether the else-where and else-when smoke co-exists with fire. Now this doubt is possible, because all smoke can be supernormally perceived through smoke-hood.¹² Had there been no such perception, one would at once conclude that the else-where and else-when smoke does not co-exist with fire. But this negative conclusion is obstructed, because there is an extra-ordinary perception of all smoke being pervaded by all fire through the sensuous cognition of smoke-hood being the concomitant of fire-hood. As a matter of fact, we can make the inferential conclusion, "The hill is fiery," though we do not perceive fire along with smoke which we see on the hill, when we are definite that all smoke is apprehended as smoke-hood which is perceived to inhere in the smoke seen on the hill. But the Mīmāṃsakas think that the inferential conclusion, "The hill is fiery," is possible even without the cognition of all smoke as smoke-hood. They do not

¹¹ *Dīdhiti*.

¹² *Vide Tattvacintāmaṇi and Māthurī, Tattvacintāmaṇi, Part II. p. 283- p. 284.*

recognise the extra-ordinary perception of the entire denotation though they admit the knowledge of the concomitance. When smoke is perceived (to co-exist with fire), smoke-hood is perceived to characterise it, *i.e.*, smoke as subject is perceived to have smoke-hood as its predicate and through this smoke-hood, there arises the knowledge of the Vyāpti of fire in smoke in the relation of co-existence (sāmānādhikarāṇya-sambandhena dhūma-niṣṭha-Vahni-vyāpti)¹³ *i.e.*, there arises the normal perception of the invariable relation between smoke and fire and this invariable relation (Vyāpti) is remembered. Now when the Pakṣa (the subject of inference) hill is perceived to have smoke (and not fire), there is a normal perception of the Pakṣa hill as being characterised by Vyāpti or the invariable relation of smoke with fire. In other words, here the perception is specified by the subject or the substantive Pakṣa to have for its predicate or adjective Vyāpti (Pakṣa-Viśeṣyaka-Vyāpti-Viśiṣṭa-Vaiśiṣṭyā-vagāhi-Pratyakṣa).¹⁴ From the perception of this invariable relation (of smoke with fire) being the predicate of the Pakṣa on which smoke, having for its characteristic smoke-hood, is perceived, there arises the inference that the hill is fiery. The special point to be noted here is that this view admits a normal perception of Vyāpti or invariable concomitance, but does not admit a supernormal perception of the entire denotation. The invariable relation between smoke and fire is normally perceived, as the perceived smoke has for its characteristic smoke-hood. But the entire denotation of smoke, *i.e.*, all smoke is not supernormally perceived.

Thus the Mīmāṃsakas admit a normal perception of Vyāpti as being a characteristic of the Pakṣa, but not a supernormal perception of the entire denotation. But even if the perception of Vyāpti as being a predicate of the Pakṣa is not admitted, inference can be made without the

¹³ *Māthuri*, *ibid*, p. 272.

¹⁴ *Māthuri*, *Tattvacintamani*, Part II, P. 272

recognition of the extraordinary perception of the entire denotation. In the perceived smoke (which is perceived to co-exist with fire), there is the apprehension of the co-existence of smoke with fire through smoke-hood which is a characteristic of the perceived smoke. Now, when smoke is perceived in the Pakṣa (in the pakṣa or the subject of inference, smoke is perceived, but not the sādhyā or the inferent fire), there is the recollection of the Vyāpti or invariable relation between smoke and fire through smoke-hood that abides in smoke. After this there arises the inference that the hill is fiery.

Thus the determining condition of the inferential conclusion is either the perception of Vyāpti as a predicate of the Pakṣa or the remembrance of Vyāpti on the perception of the hetu (the reason) in the Pakṣa. In any case, the extra-ordinary perception of the entire denotation is not a fact.

But this objection is not tenable, because the doubt as to whether the smoke of some other place or time is the concomitant of fire, is possible, since all smoke is (super-normally) perceived through the sensuous cognition of smoke-hood as inhering in the perceived smoke.

But objection may be raised that if the sāmānya-lakṣaṇā-Pratyāsatti is admitted, then a man would be omniscient, since all knowables or objects would be cognised, through knowability or object-hood.

The reply to this objection is that even if all objects were known through object-hood, these objects would not be cognised in detail, *i.e.*, the specific nature of objects would not be known and hence a man would not be omniscient.¹⁵

Thus an extra-ordinary perception of all the individuals of a class through the class-essence (sāmānya-lakṣaṇa-

¹⁵ *Siddhānta-Muktāvalī*: Na ca sāmānya lakṣaṇāsvikāre prameyatvena sakalaprameyajñāne jāte sārva-jñāpattirīti vācyam. Prameyatvena sakala prameye jñāte'pi viśiṣṭa-sakala-padārthānamajñātatvena 'sārva-jñānābhāvāt.

Pratyāsatti) is recognised in the Nyāya system and this sāmānya-lakṣaṇā of the Nyāya is close to what some modern logicians call Intuitive Induction. It is admitted by some logicians of the present day that the immediate apprehension of one instance may be the apprehension of all such similar instances. In the words of Johnson, "We intuit the truth of a universal proposition in the very act intuiting the truth of a single instance."¹⁶ The same writer further remarks that when we speak of intuitive induction, the term "intuitive" implies "felt certainty on the part of the thinker" and there is a realisation that "what is true of one instance will be true of all instances of that form."¹⁷ When we realise that "a single presented object, whose shape is perceived to be equilateral and triangular, is also equiangular, we are implicitly judging that all equilateral triangles are equiangular."¹⁸

Thus the sāmānya-lakṣaṇā-Pratyāsatti of the Nyāya is akin to the intuitive induction of modern Logic. There is, however, distinction between the two. In the Nyāya, the entire denotation is cognised through a sensuous perception of connotation. But in the intuitive induction of modern logic, the entire denotation is apprehended in the apprehension of one individual instance. In the former, in the perception of the connotation there is the extra-ordinary perception of the entire denotation; in the latter, all instances are cognised in cognising one instance and not in cognising the common essence of these instances. Thus the Nyāya admits the sensuous perception of the universal and an extra-ordinary perception of all the substrata of the universal; the Mīmāṃsakas think that the perception of the universal is possible, but the extra-ordinary perception of all the substrata of the universal, i.e., the perception of the

¹⁶ Johnson: *Logic*, Part II, p. 29.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

entire denotation, through the perception of the connotation, is not possible; Johnson holds that the immediate knowledge of the entire denotation is possible, but the perception of the connotation is not the cause of this knowledge of the entire denotation.

Another important distinction crops up in connection with the Nyāya view of *sāmānya-lakṣaṇā*. According to Navya-Nyāya the knowledge of Vyāpti or invariable relation between the *hetu* (the probans) and the *sādhya* (probandum) is the determining condition of an inferential conclusion. The ground of the inference, "The hill is fiery," is the objective universal proposition, "All smoky objects are fiery" and this invariable co-existence of all smoke will be all fire is (supernormally) perceived. In the Aristotelian syllogism the universal proposition need not be objectively true and hence the question of its perception does not arise. In fact, the Aristotelian formalistic syllogism is very different from the Nyāya inferential reasoning. The conclusion of the Nyāya inferential reasoning must be materially true and accordingly all the steps of it must be objectively valid. The Nyāya inferential reasoning, when expressed in the fully logical form, consists of five steps each of which is materially true. The Aristotelian syllogism, on the contrary, consists of three propositions all of which may be materially false. The Nyāya inferential reasoning comprises five steps simply because it aims at the material validity of the inference. As a matter of fact, none of these five steps is superfluous. A, for example, shows B smoke on the yonder hill and tries to convince him by argument that there is fire on the hill. In the first place, A asserts that he will prove that the hill has fire (*Prātiṣṭhā*) in order that B may definitely know what A has to prove. This assertion has a psychological effect on B. He makes up his mind to follow the reasonings of A. But when A asserts that the hill has fire, B may enquire the reason of it and accord-

ingly A gives the reason. So the next step is : "For there is smoke" (hetu). But after this B. may think "Why should there be fire, even though there is smoke?" Thus naturally, the third step is : "Wherever there is smoke, there is fire, e.g., the kitchen" (Udāharāṇa). But again B may think that though the kitchen has the co-existence of smoke and fire, the hill may not have the same. So he is reminded that the hill has smoke which is the invariable concomitant of fire (upanaya). After this A definitely asserts that the hill has fire (nigamana).

In the next place, the middle term is instrumental to the syllogistic conclusion in Aristotle. But in the Nyāya, the determining condition of inference is the knowledge of Vyāpti (the view of the Navya-Nyāya), or the cognition of the concomitant as characterising the Pakṣa (the view of the Old School). In fact, in Aristotle the middle term need not be perceived in the minor term.

Lastly, the Nyāya inferential fallacies are all material. There is no place in it for the purely formalistic fallacy. The fallacy of Four Terms, for example, is sometimes a purely formal fallacy in Aristotelian syllogism. The syllogism, "India comprehends Bengal, Asia comprehends India, therefore Asia comprehends Bengal," is involved in the fallacy of Four Terms. But the argument is materially true. So this fallacy can have no place in the Nyāya system.

A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF RĀMACANDRA-
CANDRODAYA, AN UNKNOWN MĪMĀMSĀ
WORK BY BĀLA GĀDEGILA (BETWEEN
A.D. 1675 and 1775)

By P. K. GODE .

IN the Rajapur Pāṭhaśālā Sanskrit Manuscripts Collection there is a small collection of Mss. called the Shevaḍe¹ Collection acquired in 1931. Through the favour of my ever alert friend Pandit Raghunatha Śāstri Patankar in charge of the above collection I could get for examination a rare Ms. of a *Mīmāṃsā* work called the *Rāmacandra Candrodaya* composed by one “बाल गाडेगिल” or Bālaśāstri Gāḍgil. The Ms. consists of about 77 folios² on thin and worn-out country paper. The size of the Ms. is 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. by 4 ins. Each folio contains about 11 lines, each line containing about 33 letters. The Ms. appears to be about 150 years old. It begins as follows :—

“श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीरामापितसर्वस्वः श्रीरामांधिप्रसादतः ।

मीमांसाभाट्टगुप्तार्थान्विवृणोमि यथामति ॥ १ ॥

धातुतङ्कृत्कारकार्थः खंडदेवैरनिरूपितः ।

गाडेगिलेन बालेनावशिष्टार्थो निरूप्यते ॥ २ ॥

¹ The Mss. in the Shevaḍe Collection bear the following printed label :—

“बिखारेंगोठणेंग्रामनिवासिभिः शेवडोपाह्वैः श्रीगोविंदशास्त्रितनुजैः शिवराम-
शर्मभिर्ब्रह्मभूतस्य स्वपितुः स्मरणार्थं पितृसंगृहीतोऽयं ग्रन्थः परमप्रीत्या समर्पितः शके
१८५३ मार्गशीर्षमासे” ।

² All the folios are damaged at one corner by moths ; some portions of the text on each folio have thus been lost.

धर्मो द्वावश्लक्षिण्यामुक्तो जैमिनिना स्फुटः ।

अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासेत्यादिना विवृणोमि तं ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीतर्काग्निं समुत्सृज्य खंडदेवैस्तु कौस्तुभः ।

बलाबलाधिकरणपर्यंतः प्रकटीकृतः ॥ ४ ॥

मीमांसाब्धेः खंडदेवैर्यावान् कौस्तुभ उद्धृतः ।

ततोऽवशिष्टं श्रीबाल उद्धर्तुं यततेऽधुना ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीरामांघ्र्यावपर्णाय मीमांसाद्याग्निर्कौस्तुभा ।

मीमांसाब्धेरुद्धरति बालो गाडेगिलोऽधुना ॥ ६ ॥

विनयो गुरुसंप्रदायसिद्धो

गुरुपुण्यैरखिलैरवाप्यते ।

सुकुमार कुमारिलीय वा

रचनेनैव मया स दृश्यते ॥ ७ ॥

तद्विद्वांसानुगृह्णन्तु चित्तश्रोत्रैः प्रसादिभिः ।

संतः प्रणयवाक्यानि गृह्णन्ति ह्यनसूयवः ॥ ८ ॥

न चांद्रातीव कर्तव्यं दोषदृष्टिपरं मनः ।

दोषोह्यविद्यमानोपि तच्चित्तानां प्रकाशते ॥ ९ ॥

कुतो वा गृह्णते दोषं सूरयो मद्विधोक्तिषु ।

नेष्यते यः परस्यापि स स्वयं गृह्यते कथं ॥ १० ॥

निर्दोषत्वैकवाक्यत्वं क्व वा लोकस्य दृश्यते ।

सापवादायतः केचिन्मोक्षस्वर्गावपि प्रति ॥ ११ ॥

आगमप्रवणश्चाहं नापवाद्यः स्वल्पत्रपि ।

नहि सद्वर्त्मना गच्छन् स्वलितेष्वपोद्यते ॥ १२ ॥

यथा कथंचिदारब्धा त्रयीमार्गानुसारिणी ।

वागवृत्तिरल्पसारापि श्रद्धधानस्य शोभते ॥ १३ ॥

मीमांसाशास्त्रतेजोभिर्विशेषेणोज्ज्वलीकृते ।

वेदार्थज्ञानरत्ने मे तृष्णातीव विजृम्भते ॥ १४ ॥

गाडेगिलेन बालेन लिखितं पंडितोत्तमैः ।

शोधनीयं विचार्यैव भूष्यं च सुविचारतः ॥ १५ ॥

अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा अथ वेदाध्ययनानंतरं etc.,

The Ms. contains references to a few works and authors as follows :—

- (1) खंडदेव and his कौस्तुभ—fol. 1 ; (2) जैमिनि—fol. 1, 2.
 (3) कुमारिलीय fol. 1 ; (4) बाल गाडेगिल (author) fol. 2 ; (5) कापिलानाम्
 fol 2 ; (6) भाष्यवार्त्तिक fol. 8, 11, 13, 71 ; (7) भाष्यकार—fol. 9.
 (8) भगवान् 'सूत्रकारः'—fol. 10 ; (9) शास्त्रदीपिकायाम्—fol. 10 ; (10)

न्यायसुधाकारः—folio 11 ; (11) पार्थसारथिना folio 12, 31, 40, 55 ; (12) वार्त्तिककृद्भः folio 12, 23, 25, 52, 55 60 75 ; (13) विष्णुपुराणे—folio 13 ; (14) योगिमाहेश्वरादीनां मतं—folio 18 ; (15) महाभाष्ये—folio 24 ; (16) बौद्धैः—folio 27 (“वीचीतरंगान्याय”), 29 ; (17) नैयायिकानाम्—folio 28, 37, 40 56 ; (18) तार्किकाः—folio 35, 43 ; (19) भवदेवीयाः—folio 40 ; folio 41—Colophon :—“इति श्रीमत्परम . . . श्रीरामचंद्र . . . शिष्येण . . . विरचिते . . . प्रत्यक्ष . . . संपूर्णः ॥ अथानुमानं निरूप्यते” (the name “तर्ककौस्तुभः” is written in the margin near the Colophon) ; (20) वार्त्तिके—folio 41 ; (21) भाष्ये—folio 42 ; (22) तर्कभाष्ये—folio 45 ; (23) न्यायरत्नमालायाम्—folio 47 ; (24) वैशेषिकाः—folio 43 ; Folio 54—“अथोपमानं निरूप्यते । उपमितिकरणमुपमानं” Folio 60—“अथार्थापत्तिं निरूप्यते ।” Folio 70—“इत्यर्थापत्तिः ॥ अथानुपलब्धि-निरूप्यते ॥” (25) भगवान् पतंजलिः—folio 73. Folio 77 (a) “इति श्रीमद्रामचंद्रचंद्रोदयेऽनुपलब्धिनिष्कर्षः संपूर्णः ॥”—folio 77(b)—“अथ शब्दो निरूप्यते” The Ms. breaks on this folio and ends with the words “... वृक्षोमही . . .”—

From the foregoing data gathered from this Ms. we get the following information:—(1) The author of this *mīmāṃsā* work is “बाल गाडेगिल” (See verses 2, 6, 15). (2) The name of the work is “रामचंद्र चंद्रोदय” as stated in the Colophon on folio 77 (a). The name “तर्ककौस्तुभ” has been recorded in the margin near the colophon on folio 41. (3) The author may have been a pupil of “श्रीरामचंद्रसरस्वतीपूज्यपाद” as stated in the Colophon on folio 41 and as appears from the name of the work viz. “रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय” recorded in the colophon on folio 77 (a). Some later hand has scratched out the expression “सरस्वतीपूज्यपाद” from the Colophon on folio 41 viz. “श्रीरामचंद्रसरस्वतीपूज्यपादशिष्येण etc.” (4) The present work “रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय” was composed by बाल गाडेगिल with a view to supplementing the work of खण्डदेव viz. कौस्तुभ or मीमांसा—कौस्तुभ (verse 2 “अवशिष्टार्थो निरूप्यते” and verse 5 “अवशिष्टं उद्धर्तुं यतते”). Perhaps this statement is responsible for the title “तर्ककौस्तुभ” entered by a later hand on folio 41. (5) Verse 1 at the beginning uses the expressions, “श्रीरामापितसर्वस्वः” and “श्रीरामांघ्रिप्रसादः” which may suggest

that the author was a devotee of God श्रीराम and a pupil of a *guru* of the name श्रीराम. The title "रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय" is in harmony with this suggestion.

As the present work mentions the great *mīmāṃsaka* of Benares, viz., *Khaṇḍadeva* and his work "*Kaustubha*," it is later than him. In my paper on the "Chronology of the works of *Khaṇḍadeva*" in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume I* have recorded the following dates of *Khaṇḍadeva* and his works :—

A.D. 1641—Date of a Ms. of his भाट्टदीपिका.

A.D. 1657—Signature of *Khaṇḍadeva* on a निर्णयपत्र drawn up at मुक्तिमंडप at Benares.

A.D. 1660—Date of a Ms. of his सीमांताकौस्तुभ at the B.O.R. Institute.

A.D. 1664—Date of India Office Ms. of भाट्टदीपिका.

A.D. 1665—Date of *Khaṇḍadeva*'s death recorded by his pupil शम्भुभट्ट in A.D. 1708.

In view of the above chronology we may safely conclude that *Bāla Gāḍegila*, the author of the *Rāmacandra-Candrodaya* is later than A.D. 1665 and is possibly earlier than A.D. 1800 in view of the age of the Rajapur Ms. of the *Rāmacandra-candrodaya* as observed by me already in this paper. Accordingly we may tentatively put *Bāla Gāḍegila* between say A.D. 1675 and 1800.

The surname "Gāḍegila" is current among the Chitpāvan Brahmins of Mahārāṣṭra at present. As *Bāla Gāḍegila* does not record his parentage or other particulars about himself or his family it is difficult to identify him. However, let me attempt his identification on the strength of Maratha records of the period, A.D. 1700 to 1800.

The Gujarati poet Deva Śaṁkara in his *Alaṁkāramāñ-jūṣā* (edited by S. L. Katre, Ujjain, 1940) refers to an eminent Paṇḍita of the name "बालकृष्णशास्त्रि" (highly honoured by Peshwa Madhav Rao I) in the following verse :—

"अयं न शेषो न गुरुर्न मिश्रो

न चाक्षिपान्नापि सुरेशकव्यः ।

सुप्रजितो माधवरायराज्ञा

श्रीबालकृष्णामिधशास्त्रि एषः ।”

For identifying the *Bālakerṣṇasāstri* of the above stanza myself and Mr. Katre searched in contemporary records. The result of this search is recorded by Mr. Katre in Appendix B (pp. 289-297) of his edition of the *Alamkāramāñjūṣā*. The name-sakes of *Bālakerṣṇa Sāstri* found in contemporary records are as follows :—

(1) *Bālakerṣṇa Dīkṣita Pāṭaṅkar*, holding great influence with the Peshwas.

(2) A list dated 10-8-1773 (*Peshwa Daftar* Vol. 32, Pages 107-112, Document No. 192) mentions charities given away by Ramābāī, wife of Peshwa Mādhav Rao I prior to her committing *Satī*. This list mentions one बालकृष्णशास्त्रि to whose wife some jewels were given away by Ramābāī.

(3) Peshwa Daftar Vol. 43, Page 33-Documents No. 38 dated 3-4-1772 addressed to Peshwa Madhava Rao I is a letter by one Kuppā Śāstri of Kumbhakoṇa, in which he binds himself not to carry on medical practice in future.

This document is endorsed by witnesses among which we find the signature of one *Bālakerṣṇa Sāstri Jānārdan Sāstri Gādegila*” as follows :—

“साक्षी—

बालकृष्णशास्त्री जानार्दनशास्त्री गाडेगिल नृसिंहशास्त्री काशीनाथशास्त्री दिवेकर” etc.,

(4) P. D. Vol. 32, Document No. 191 dated 3-6-1773 is a list of Charities given away at the *Satī* of Ramābāī to persons of Peshwa’s royal circle. This document shows a recipient “लक्ष्मीबाई गाडगील” receiving Rs. 2000. Mr. Katre suggests by way of a guess that this *Lakṣmībāi Gādagila* may have been the wife of बालकृष्णशास्त्रि गाडेगिल referred to above.

(5) Grant Duff in his *History of the Marathas* (4th Edn. 1878); Vol. I, Chap XXI, Page 623 mentions one “Bāl

Kishen Gargeel "as head of the Poona Nyādeiish, or Court of Justice," associated with Bālāji II, who appointed him about A.D. 1749 as his first न्यायाधीश or Chief Justice. In 1759 Rāma Śāstri Prabhūne succeeded this Bāla Kṛṣṇa Śāstri.

I am concerned in the above references with the name sakes of "बाल गाडेगिल", the author of the *Rāmacandra Candrodāya* (see Nos. 3 and 5 above). In particular the form of the surname "गाडेगिल" in the signature "बालकृष्णशास्त्री जानार्दनशास्त्री गाडेगिल" on a document of 3rd April 1772 is exactly identical with that recorded by the author of the *Ramacandra Candrodāya*, who calls himself "बाल गाडेगिल" in three different verses in the introductory portion of the work. If this identification is accepted we are led to conclude that the author of the *mīmāṃsā* work before me in the form of the Rajapur Ms. was living in A.D. 1772, presumably as a highly respected old Paṇḍita at Poona. Whether this *Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstri Gāḍegila* is identical with "Bāl Kishen Gargeel," the *Nyāyādhīśa* of the Peshwa, say between A.D. 1749 and 1759 as stated by Mr. Katre, cannot be definitely determined at present.

It is difficult to say what other Sanksrit authors of the Gāḍgil¹ family flourished before A.D. 1800. I know only one such author viz., Vaidyanātha Gāḍagila, the author of a commentary on the *Tarka-Samgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa, called the *Tarkacandrikā* represented by Ms. No. 736 of 1882-83 (folios 37) in the Government Mss. Library at the

¹ I note some names of persons of the Gāḍgil family, which I noticed while studying the subject of the present paper:—

(1) A *Sammatipatra* of Benares Pandits dated 1865 A.D. bears the signature "गाडगीलोपावह सीतारामशर्मणः" (See p. 34 of Appendices to R. B. Gunjekar's, *सरस्वतीमंडल*, Bombay 1884).

(2) See पेशवाईचे सावलीत by N. G. Chapekar (1937), pp. 114 (वाईचे) केशवभट्ट, 84; कोंडोजीबाजी, 258.—"केशवभट्ट" गाडगील सातारकर" (p. 84) is referred to in a document of A.D. 1777. Other persons are of later date.

A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF RĀMACANDRA-CANDRODAYA 111

B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms. was written in Śaka 1644 (=A.D. 1722) by one Jayarāma. The Colophon of the Ms. reads as follows :—

“इति श्रीगाङ्गिलोपनामक रामकृष्णभट्टात्मजवैद्यनाथभट्टकृततर्कचंद्रिका स ॥६॥”

It is clear from this colophon that the author of this commentary is *Vaidyanātha Rāmacandra Gaḍgila*, who is evidently earlier than A.D. 1722, while *Bāla Gāḍgila*, the author of the *Mīmāṃsā* work *Rāmacandra-Candrodaya* is later than A.D. 1700. In what way *Vaidyanātha* is connected with *Bāla* cannot be determined at present. I hope some members of the *Gāḍgil* family, who may be interested in the history of their family, will try to trace in their genealogies these two *Gaḍgila* authors, one of whom belongs to the 17th century, while the other belongs to the 18th century.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE BHARATA EPIC AND THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By P. C. DIVANJI

-I. Introductory Remarks.

THE *Bhagavadgītā* is looked upon in India as a work of special importance from a time prior to the time of Śaṅkarācārya because in his *Bhāṣya* on III. 2. there is a reference to an earlier commentary thereon establishing the view that it advocates the doctrine that freedom from transmigration can be achieved by following the path of knowledge combined with that of action (Jñāna-Karma-samuccaya). It has accordingly been imitated and commented upon by several persons. But the Orthodox School of Indians studied it only from the point of view of the teaching contained therein. In the west it was unknown till Charles Wilkins translated it into English in 1785 at the instance of the East India Company. Still it was not until Schlegel, a German scholar, edited it critically in 1823 with a Latin translation that it attracted the attention of the western scholars. One of them, Humboldt, was so much pleased with it that he acclaimed it as "a work far above Lucretius and even above Parmenides and Empedocles" and declared that "this episode of the *Mahābhārata* is the most beautiful, nay perhaps, even the truly philosophical poem which we can find in all literatures known to us." Since then it was translated into all the European languages and even into the Japanese.¹ The persons who translated them were in many cases eminent classical scholars and therefore

¹ M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. pp. 426-27.

prefixed to their editions introductions written from a critical point of view.

The earliest study of the work from the same viewpoint made by an Indian scholar seems to be that of Mr. K. T. Telang who translated it into English for the *Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. VIII*. Amongst other questions, he has in his introduction thereto considered that of the probable date of the composition of the work and recorded his conclusion that the said date must be earlier than that of the *Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba*, which Bühler had, in his Introduction to the translation of that work in the same series (Vol. XIV) placed it in about the 4th or 5th century B.C. He had treated the work as a homogenous one. As opposed to him, Holtzmann, a European scholar propounded the view that the work contained clear evidence as to its being a work of two authors, one of whom expounded the philosophical doctrine of the Sāṃkhya and the other the Bhakti doctrine of the Bhāgavatas and that whereas the original *Gītā*, even then an episode in the Bhīṣmaparvan, had been composed for the former purpose only, the present one is a revised edition thereof with the doctrine of the Bhāgavata cult loosely grafted on at that time to the original work. Bothlingk, though willing to accept the former conclusion doubted the correctness of the latter and considered "an unprejudiced examination of the philosophical contents of the *Bhagavadgītā*" by one well-acquainted with the Indian philosophical systems necessary with a view to ascertain whether it was the philosophical portion that was the original or the devotional one. Professor Garbe, believing himself to be properly qualified for such an examination, made it and embodied the result and the arguments in support thereof in his Introduction to his German translation of the work published about the end of the first quarter of this century. The translation was not of the whole work but of select stanzas thereof which,

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according to the translator, must have formed the original *Gītā*, while the translation of the remaining stanzas was printed as if it were of an extraneous portion of the work. The stanzas translated in the former group are those which hold forth devotion to Bhagavān Vāsudeva as the means for the attainment of freedom from the bondage of Saṁsāra and of the highest bliss and peace of mind while those translated in the latter are those in which knowledge and meditation have been held forth as the means for the attainment of the same end. He did so because he was of the view which was quite opposed to that of Holtzmann. He supported this by tracing the history of the Bhāgavata religion which in his view originated earlier than the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vedānta and Karma-mīmāṃsā doctrines, which, in his view had been drawn upon by the reviser for establishing a synthesis between them. Agreeably to this view he put down the work in its present form in the 2nd century A.C. and that in the original one in the 2nd century B.C.² Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, though agreeing with the view that the *Gītā* had been originally composed for providing a canonical work for the followers of the Bhāgavata or Sātvata religion, does not agree in looking upon the work in its present form as a revised edition of an original shorter work and treats it as a work which had remained in the same form in which it had been originally composed, and fixed for it a date later than the beginning of the 4th century B.C., though he could not say how much earlier than that it must be.³ Professor Edgerton of America too has thought over the question of date and advanced the guarded view that it may have been composed before the Christian Era but not much before it and Dr. Winternitz having considered all the above

² This Introduction though originally written in German was latterly translated into English by Dr. N. B. Udgar of Poona. For the above view see pp. 30-33 of that Translation.

³ *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Other Minor Sects*, p. 18.

views has expressed his agreement with the last view⁴ which is the vaguest of all.

II. *Authorship of the Work.*

It seems to me very strange that none of the said Indian or European Scholars has entered into a discussion about the question of the authorship of the work. Telang has referred to it only passingly on p. 6 of his Introduction. In my view that question is so very intimately connected with that of the date of the work that any conclusion arrived at as to the latter must, in order to be acceptable, be consistent with the *Gītā* being the work of an author who can be proved to have lived about that date. It would not be reasonable to hold forth a date as correct even though it may not be possible to support it by reference to the existence about that time of a person who can probably have been its author. Even according to the orthodox tradition this is a work of the Smṛti not the Śruti class and therefore one which had a human author. Not only that. It is according to it the work of a definite individual sage named Vyāsa. The critics of the modern historical school must be deemed not to have come across any evidence which would raise a reasonable doubt as to the correctness of that statement found uniformly in all the manuscripts of Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. A merely general doubt as to the authorship of all the works of the pre-classical period would not be entitled to much weight in the case of the *Gītā* at least because even the scholars who look upon the work in its present form as a revised edition of an older work, have, on a critical examination thereof, come to the conclusion that the original *Gītā*, as to whose contents they do not agree, must have formed part of the original Bhārata Epic.⁵ Therefore,

⁴ H. I. L. p. 438, f.n. 1.

⁵ Garbe's Introduction to the *Bhagavadgītā* as translated by Udgikar pp. 4, 12-13.

leaving aside for the time being the question whether the *Gītā* as we have it since the time of Śaṅkara is or is not in the same form in which it was composed by the author of the *Bhārata Epic*, we can confidently say that it is the work of a sage named Vyāsa. The only questions that therefore remain for investigation are:—(1) the identity of that sage and (2) the time when he can be reasonably believed to have lived.

As regards the first, the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* leaves very little room for a doubt because besides stating the name Vyāsa it also gives his personal name as Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana or simple Dvaipāyana. This sage was of course none other than Vyāsa (literally meaning the arranger) who collected together the Vedic hymns and arranged them in the form of the *Samhitās* of the four Vedas. It, too calls itself a *Samhitā* of the *Bhārata-Itihāsa*.⁶ In another *Parvan* of the same *Epic*,⁷ he is spoken of as having been born of Satyawatī by the sage Pārāśara of the Vāśiṣṭha Gotra. Therefore even though it is true that there had been several Vyāsas⁸ and though *Samhitās* of the first three Vedas had been compiled by other Brahmanas also,⁹ there is no difficulty in identifying the author of the *Bhārata Epic* and therefore also of the *Bhagavadgītā* in their original forms.

III. *Veda Vyāsa and Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa Distinguished.*

The question of the identity of the Vyāsa of the *Bhārata Epic* has become somewhat confounding only because the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* treats the said sage as identical with Bādarāyaṇa and calls his son Śuka Bādarāyaṇī.¹⁰ The basis of this identification seems to be that the former had, according to that *Purāṇa* itself, been living in a hermitage situated in the midst of Badara or Badri (jujube) fruit trees situated on

⁶ *Mahābhārata*, Critical Edition, Poona, I. 1. 18-19.

⁷ *Śāntiparvan*, III. 177. 2-5.

⁸ *Viṣṇupurāṇa* III. 3; *Yogavāśiṣṭha* II, 3. 21-31.

⁹ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 316.

¹⁰ *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, I. 1. 7; 4. 14-25 XII. 6. 8-80.

the bank of the river Sarasvatī.¹¹ The clearest proof of their being two distinct personalities living in two ages separated from each other by a long distance of time is however afforded by the fact that the smṛti referred to in *Brahmasūtra* I. 2. 6 ; 3. 22 ; II. 3. 45 ; III. 2-17 and IV 1-20, is, according to Śaṅkara and the other three Ācāryas, the *Bhagavadgītā*. He is believable in that respect because he has supported this identification by actually quoting stanzas from the work which can be found therein at XVIII. 61, XIII. 2, XV. 6, 12 ; XV. 7 ; XIII. 12 and VI respectively. He, and according to Telang the other Ācāryas also, has made it clear that the word "*Brahmasūtra*" forming part of the compound word "*Brahmasutrapadaih*" in XIII. 4 does not refer to the Śārīrakasūtra but to the cryptic sentences of the Upaniṣads.¹² And they seem to be right because the said Sūtra work could not have been composed earlier than *Bhagavadgītā*. That this must be in the mind of Śaṅkara when he gave that explanation is clear from the fact that he refers in his *Bhāṣya* on the Sūtra to the two sages by different appellations. Thus in his *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* I. 3-29, 33 ; II. 1.1, 3. 29, 47 and III. 3.32, he speaks of the author of the Great Epic and the Saṁhitās as the sage "Veda Vyāsa" "Vyāsa," and "Dvaipāyana" while in that on I. 1-2 ; II. 1. 14, 37, 42 ; III. 1.1 ; 3, 28, 57 ; 4.1, 19 ; IV 1-12, 17 ; 2. 1, 3. 2. 14, 4.7 he speaks of the author of the *Brahmasūtra* as "Bhagavān," the "Sūtrakāra" and an "Ācārya," never as a Ṛṣi (sage). The Sūtra itself refers to its author's views as distinguished from those of the other thinkers of the Mīmāṃsā School, which was not till then sub-divided into the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsās, by the name 'Bādarāyaṇa' in I 3. 26, 33 III. 2-41, 4. 1, 8, 19 ; IV 3. 15, 4.7, 12, and not even once as Dvaipāyana Vyāsa whose Smṛti has

¹¹ *Op. cit.* I. 7. 1-2.

¹² *Br. Śū.*, II. 3. 47 ; III. 1. 14 and Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* thereon (N.S.P. edition pp. 624, 673).

been twice drawn upon in the Sūtra for supporting the author's view.¹³ According to a well-established tradition again Veda Vyāsa had, after compiling the Samhitās of the Veda and the Aitihāsika tradition taught those of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* and the *Bhārata-Itihāsa* to Vaiśampāyana as he taught the others to other pupils of his. This Vaiśampāyana had again taught the Samhitā of the said Veda to his nephew and pupil Yājñavalkya Dai-varātī, who afterwards quarrelled with his Uncle, vomitted out the Samhitā and Tittira birds picked it up¹⁴ and he himself propitiating the Sun was able to compose some new mantras and to compile his own *Sveta Yajurveda Samhitā* which was taught to and preserved by the Brāhmaṇas of 15 new Śākhās and also composed through his pupil Kātyāyana the major portion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. That being so, Dvaipāyana must have lived at least 50 years earlier than the age in which Yājñavalkya lived and the *Bhārata Samhitā*, of which the *Gītā* formed a part compiled by the former must be of an earlier date than the *Yajurveda Samhitā* compiled by the latter, and also than the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Iśa Upaniṣads*, in the former of which Yājñavalkya is the chief exponent of the nature of the Ātman and Brahman and the latter of which forms the 40th Adhyāya of the said Samhitā. Moreover, in the pedigree given in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* as to how the Mantra doctrine had been handed down, Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyin is mentioned as a pupil of Uddālaka Aruṇi.¹⁵ This Yājñavalkya is the same who was the nephew of Vaiśampāyana because he is distinguished as Vājasaneyin, i.e., the one to whom the *White*

¹³ *Bhā. Pu.* XII. 6. 52; Pargiter, *A. IHT.* pp. 321-25.

¹⁴ This allegorical story found in the *Bhāgavata* and other *Pūrāṇas* seems to indicate that the Samhitā which was till then the monopoly of Yājñavalkya was taught by him to Brāhmaṇas of the Tittiri Śākhā and was never again recited by him because he had quarrelled with his uncle who had taught it to him.

¹⁵ *Br. A. Upa.* VI. 3-7.

Yajurveda mantras were revealed by the Sun whose vehicle is a horse. And that Uddālaka Aruṇi had learnt the Pañcāgni-Vidyā and the secret about the Devayāna and Pitryāna from a Kṣattriya prince named Pravāhaṇa Jaivali¹⁶ who was a contemporary of Janamejaya III and Śatānika, son and grandson respectively of Parikṣita II who succeeded Yudhiṣṭhira¹⁷ and of Aśvapati Kekaya.¹⁸ He was also a pupil of Ayoda Dhaumya, who lived in the times of Parikṣita II and Janamejaya III, Śvetaketu Auddālaki Gautama, who was most probably the author of the earliest Dharmasūtra known as the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (about 700 B.C.).¹⁹ There can be no doubt therefore as to Veda Vyāsa having been living at a time prior to Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya, who are the principal teachers of the identity of the Ātman and Brahman which is established in the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*.

On the other hand Bādarāyaṇa has in his *Brahmasūtra* tried to establish the Vedānta or Uttara Mīmāṃsā system of thought on bringing about a reconciliation of the apparently divergent statements contained in the texts of not only the said *Upaniṣads* but also of other later ones such as the *Muṇḍaka*, *Jābāla*, *Praśna* and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads*, which show an influence of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of freedom through complete renunciation and inactions. All these *Upaniṣads* must already have been in existence prior to the time of Gautama Buddha and of Pāṇini.²⁰ Not only that but even the theories of the Śūnyavādins and Kṣāṇikavijñānavādins established in their Sanskrit works only, were known to and refuted by Bādarāyaṇa.²¹ These Vedas had come into

¹⁶ *Op. Cit.* VI 2. 4-16.

¹⁷ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* pp. 330-331.

¹⁸ *Chā. Up.* V. 11-17.

¹⁹ S. B. E. Vol. II Intro. to *Āpastamba* pp. XXII, XXXIV to XLIII, Intro. to *Gauṇama* pp. XLIX to LVII.

²⁰ Winternitz, *Op. Cit.* p. 236, 392, 393, 310.

²¹ *Br. Sū.* II. 2-18-22 . . . and Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* thereon.

existence considerably later than the division of the Buddhists into the followers of the Mahāyāna and Hināyāna schools and that division had again taken place after several previous schools such as those of the Theravādins and the Mahāsāṃghikās had arisen and been extinguished.²² The author of the *Brahmasūtra* must therefore have lived considerably later than not only the age in which the said Upaniṣads were compiled but also that in which the later Buddhist Vādas established in Sanskrit works had originated.

Further the fact that Bādarāyaṇa refers at several places in his *Sūtra* to the views of one Jaimini on diverse topics²³ is an eloquent proof of his being either of a later date than or of the same date as Jaimini. Most probably the latter was the case because his views there referred to are such as presuppose a knowledge on his part of almost all the texts of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads known to Bādarāyaṇa. That being so and the earliest sage of that name known to Sanskrit literature being only the pupil of Veda Vyāsa whom he had taught the *Sāmaveda*,²⁴ this Jaimini must have lived in an age considerably later than that in which Veda Vyāsa could have lived and consequently Bādarāyaṇa must not only be distinct from the latter but must also have lived in a very later age than him.

IV. Date of the Work.

Veda Vyāsa, the compiler of the *Vedic Samhitās* and the author of *Bhārata Epic* in its original form being thus clearly distinguishable from Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa, the author of the *Brahmasūtra*, and there being no other Vyāsa, during the period intervening between them, the date of the *Bhagvadgītā* must necessarily be the same as that of the

²² Divanji, *Introduction to the Siddhāntabindu* (G. O. Series No. 64) pp. 22-25.

²³ *Br. Sū.* I. 2.28, 31; 3.31; 4.18; III. 2.40; 4.2, 18. 40; IV. 3.12; 4.45.

²⁴ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* pp. 221-25.

former sage and that of the said compilations and Epic. The date of the Epic again must necessarily be very near that of the Bhārata War itself because Veda Vyāsa was the father by Niyogavidhi of Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura and one of the elders who consoled Yudhiṣṭhira when he felt dejected after he was installed on the throne of Hastināpura on the termination of the war.

Various attempts have been made to fix the date of the said war. Mr. Vaidya concluded that it must be 3102 B.C.²⁵ That must be the date also according to the Yudhiṣṭhira Era which is still current in some parts of India as in Kāśmīr. This is however based on astronomical grounds only which are not free from errors. According to literary traditional evidence recorded in the Paurāṇic works Pargiter has come to the conclusion that it must be about 950 B.C.²⁶ This is however due to his having allowed 18 to 20 years to each monarch intervening between Parikṣita II, the successor of Yudhiṣṭhira and Mahāpadma Nanda. Sitanath Pradhan having considered the same question from several viewpoints including the lists of Vedic teachers has arrived at the conclusion that the Bhārata war must have occurred in about 1150 B.C.²⁷ If the period for each reign of the 26 kings of Magadha from Senajit, a contemporary of Adhisimakṣṇa is taken to be 25 years, which in my view is the only proper period, and the total period of 650 years thus arrived at, is added to the 382 years prior to the Christian Era when Mahāpadma can be believed to have ascended the throne there, the total comes to 1032 B.C. And if to this 100 more

²⁵ M. Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, Vol. I. 473.

²⁶ Pargiter *A.I.H.T.* pp. 179-83. H. C. Raychaudhari (*Political History of India*, 4th edition, pp. 27-28) relying on the Vāṃsa lists in the *Sāṅkhāyana Aranyaka* and *Sāṅkhāyana Grhyasūtra* has fixed 850 B.C. as the date of the said war.

²⁷ *Chronology of Ancient India* (Cal. 1927) pp. 169-75, 268-69. See also Trivedi, *The Intervening Age between Parikṣita and Nanda* (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIX. pt. I. pp. 1-16).

years are added on account of the four predecessors of Adhisīma up to Parīkṣita II, the date of his accession comes to 1132 B.C. Adding 36 years of the reign of Yudhishthira himself we arrive at 1168 B.C. as the approximate date of the Bhārata War. This is very near the date arrived at, by Sitanath Pradhan and roughly accords with the interpretation of the chronological data as given in the Purāṇas so as to point to an interval of 1050 years between Adhisīma and Mahāpadma. As against this if the other interpretation the Paurāṇic text is adopted, as seems to have been done by some other scholars, the date is pushed back by 450 years, the relevant words being construed as meaning 1500 instead of 1050, *i.e.*, it comes to 1132 plus 450 = 1582. Dr. Altekar of Benares has, while accepting the former interpretation, pushed back the date by 232 years, *i.e.*, he has arrived at 1400 B.C. as the approximate date of the war, for reasons which are not clear.²⁸ The highest limit for the date of the Bhārata War thus comes to be 1582 B.C. and the lowest 1132 B.C. The collection of the epic ballads into the *Bhārata Samhitā* can therefore be reasonably deemed to have been made in about 1575 or 1125 B.C. and that would also be the approximate date of the *Bhagavadgītā* which formed part of that *Samhitā*.

The latter of the two limits is in my opinion, quite consistent with the work being of the authorship of Veda Vyāsa, the post-Vedic sage who collected together the Vedic hymns and formulas and having made out 4 *Samhitās* thereout taught them to four of his pupils, to each of whom a separate function was also given at a sacrifice. Many of the Brāhmaṇas in which elaborate sacrifices have been described or referred to, the Upaniṣads in which the doctrines of the identity of Brahman and Ātman have been propounded and the ways for its realisation has been

²⁸ Presidential Address, Indian Historical Congress, Arch. Section, Calcutta, 1939.

described or referred to and all the Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras, the Prātiśākyas and the Anukramaṇis including the Bṛhaddevatā constitute according to this conclusion the post-Saṁhitā literature. So do the Sūtra Works on the other Vedāṅgas, Chandas, Jyotiṣ, Vyākaraṇa, etc. and the Darśanas, orthodox and heterodox. Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa was one of the authors of one of the Darśanaśāstras. A detailed critical examination of the prosody, style, diction, grammar and imagery of the *Bhagavadgītā*, its comparison with Upaniṣads and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* from the linguistic view-point and the contents of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and of the previous literature not referred to and hinted at therein, the history of the Smṛti literature, of which the *Bhārata Epic* including the *Bhagavadgītā* forms a portion, of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines in their original forms, which is what is meant by the term "Epic Philosophy," of the main and subsidiary philosophical doctrines expounded therein, of the probable sources drawn upon by the author for his exposition, of the Vedic and Paurāṇic gods and goddesses referred and not referred to therein, of the modes, of worship or ways of propitiation of the deity mentioned therein, of the names of the older sages and kings referred to therein and of the highest ideal held forth therein for being realised by the said modes or ways, is absolutely necessary with a view to show that there is nothing at all in the work which is inconsistent with its being a Smṛti work of a date falling between the 15th and the 12th centuries B.C., in which period several other Smṛti works had been composed as can be seen from the references thereto in the works of the later period which are now available. It is however impossible to do so within the limited space allotted to this article. I, therefore, leave that to be done on some other occasion.

THE CO-ORDINATION OF BHĀRĀTA EVENTS, FROM THE EXILE OF THE PĀNDAWAS, TO THE DEATH OF BHĪṢMA, BY DETERMINING THE TITHI OF EACH IMPORTANT EVENT

By V. B. ATHAVALE

LET me begin with a note on the nomenclature of the 'Tithi' and the month. A 'Tithi' is a relation between the position of the sun and the moon. The पौर्णिमा is clearly the 'Tithi' when the full disc of the moon is shining. The 'अमावास्या' is the 'Tithi' when the sun and the moon remain together. The name for the lunar month is given by observing the star cluster (Nakṣatra) with which the moon coincides on the full moon day. But whether the month should end with 'अमावास्या' or 'पौर्णिमा' depends on the choice of the people. South of the Narmada river the month is 'अमांत' while on the north of the river the nomenclature is 'पौर्णिमांत.' In the 'अमांत' month the bright half of the month comes first and it ends with the dark half. On the other hand in the 'पौर्णिमांत' method the dark half¹ of the month comes first and it ends with the bright half of the month.

At the time of the Kuru war the month nomenclature was 'पौर्णिमांत' and the same method is current still in the Northern India. For, in Aśwamedha, 85. 4. 8. (निवृत्तं वारणं श्रुत्वा चारेणैव युधिष्ठिरः । इष्टं गृहीत्वा नक्षत्रं (पुनर्वसु) द्वादशीं माघमासिकीं प्रोवाचेदं वचः काले भीमं प्रहरतां वरम् ॥ माघी च पौर्णिमासीयं मासः शेषः वृकोदर । Yudhiṣṭhira clearly says that the month of 'Māgha' is coming at its end on the full moon day and it means that the month of 'Phālguna' is to begin with a dark half.² The 'Amāwāsyā' following the 'Māgh Pūrṇimā' will be 'Phālguna Amāwāsyā' and not 'Māgha Amāwāsyā.'

¹ Mbb. III. 162.11, "तामिहं प्रथमं पक्षं वीतशोकमयः वस ।" confirms the conclusion.

² Ibid.

As an illustration we shall take the day of the attack by 'Trigarta' on the cowherds of 'Virāṭa.' We know from Virāṭa 47. 22, that it was 'ग्रीष्म ऋतु' when the attack was going on अदेशिका महारण्ये ग्रीष्मे शत्रुवशं गताः। Virāṭa, 47. 10, 11 tell that Duryōdhana had promised 'Trigarta' that he should start the attack on the 7th, and the Kaurawa army should attack by the northern side on the next day. Virāṭa, 30. 27, tells that it was the 7th day of the dark half (कृष्ण सप्तमी). Now 'Jyeṣṭha' and 'Āṣāḍha' represent the 'ग्रीष्म ऋतु'. Thus the month must be either of the two. But 'Jyeṣṭha Vadya' means 'Vaiśākha Vadya' of 'अमांत,' month nomenclature and the 'Jyeṣṭha Śuddha' of both these methods coincide, because in the 'पौर्णिमांत' month the 'Vadya pakṣa' precedes the 'Śukla pakṣa' while in the 'अमांत' it is the reverse.

The next question is as to how to decide about the month of the attack. We shall now prove that it was the month of 'Vaiśākha Vadya' according to the 'अमांत' nomenclature or 'Jyeṣṭha Vadya' by the 'पौर्णिमांत' no nomenclature and not 'Āṣāḍha.'

The marriage of Abhimanyu must have taken place at least a fortnight after the campaign was won by Arjunā. For Kṛṣṇa Abhimanyu and others were at Dwārakā and they were to come to Upaplavya for the ceremony. In Strī, 20. 28, Uttarā the daughter of Virāṭa while weeping over the death of Abhimanyu says 'एतावान् इह संवासो विहितः ते मया सह। षण्मासान् सप्तमे मासि वीर त्वं निधनं गतः। But we know that Abhimanyu died on the 13th day of the battle. As the battle had started in the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, and the ladies had come to Kurukṣetra on the 19th day, it must be the beginning of 'पौष' If we count from 'Jyeṣṭha' then only the statement of Uttarā can be justified. Further we know that 'Parikṣit' was born in the month of 'Phālguna.' Nine months are completed, only if, we count from Jyeṣṭha.

I have thus proved that the 'Tithi' on which Arjuna got success against the Kaurawas was 'Vaiśākha Vadiya 8th.' i.e., the 8th day of the dark half of 'Vaiśākha.' This date is very significant, because it was on this day that Arjuna drove his chariot first to the Śamī tree, where they had deposited their war weapons (V. 5. 16.) and took down bow, conch and monkey painted banner. He removed the Lion painted banner of Virāṭa and planted his own there (V. 46. 13.) When he returned after his victory, he came back to the Śamī tree and kept his weapons and banner in the tree and replaced the lion banner of Virāṭa which was removed. (V. 63. 13.).

When Arjuna sounded the conch, that tone was at once recognized by Droṇa and he said that it must be Arjuna and none else, and he expressed the fear that he was not sure of the success now. Duryodhana on the other hand got delighted with the news. He said "The last year is not yet over. If Arjuna is recognized before this period is over the Pāṇḍawas will have to go to the forest again for 12 years according to the accepted conditions. (V. 47. 3-7).

We have already seen above that Arjuna had used his bow only privately. He did not wish to disclose that 'Bṛhannalā' and 'Arjuna' were identical personalities. Arjuna had instructed the prince Uttara not to disclose his identity to his father. V. 69. 12. 14, विराटः—क्व स वीरो महाबाहुः देवपुत्रो महायशः। यो मे धनं अथाजेषीत् कुरुभिः प्रुप्तं आहवे। उत्तरः—स तु श्वो वा परश्वो वा मन्ये प्रादुर्भविष्यति। tells that Arjuna wished to disclose his identity two or three days afterwards. V. 79. 1. 3. 5, ततः तृतीये दिवसे भ्रातरः पञ्च पांडवाः। विराटस्य सभां गत्वा समये चारितव्रताः। निषेदुः पावक-प्रहयाः भूमिपलासनेष्वथ। tells that three days later the Pāṇḍawas went to the court and 'Kaṅka,' the dice player, occupied the throne of Virāṭa. When Virāṭa arrived in the court, he got enraged to see his servant occupying the throne. Uttara intervened and disclosed that he (Kaṅka) was Yudhiṣṭhira, and he really deserved

the throne and they were his vassals. The brothers disclosed themselves on that day because their vow of remaining unrecognized was over. A week must have elapsed after वैशाख वद्य ८ Hence, it is clear that 'Jyēṣṭha Śukla 1st' was the day on which the period of the vow expired according to the counting of the Pāṇḍavas. This leads us to determine the exact 'Tithi' on which the five brothers were required to leave Indraprastha, being defeated in the dice play, and also the day on which Kīcaka was killed.

Virāṭa 14. 1. 3 '(पांडवेषु च छत्रेषु मासा दश समाययुः । सेनापतिः विराटस्य ददृशे द्रौपदीं तदा)' tells that Kīcaka saw Draupadī, after ten months stay in the palace. When Bhīma killed Kīcaka and his brothers, without disclosing his identity he released Draupadī from the pyre to which she was tied.

When Virāṭa heard that Draupadī was released by some powerful unknown person, he thought that it was good to dismiss her from her post as an attendant to the queen. When Draupadī returned to the palace, Uttarā, the daughter of Virāṭa told her that she was dismissed from the service. Then Draupadī requested Sudeṣṇā, the queen, to allow her to stay for 13 days more, when her Gandharva husbands would surely come to take her with them. (Virāṭa 24. 29. त्रयोदशाह-मात्रं मे राजा क्षाम्यतु भामिनी । ततो मां उपनेष्यति गंधर्वाः ते न संशयः ।

We have already seen that the Pāṇḍavas disclosed their identity on जेष्ठ शुक्ल प्रतिपदा. Therefore, counting 13 days back, we get the 'Tithi' on which Kīcaka was killed, which is 'Vaiśākha वद्य'³. The Pāṇḍavas must have entered the kingdom of Virāṭa by the end of Vaiśākha of the previous year to remain unnoticed. This is corroborated by another statement in the Vir. 13. 14, (अयमासे चतुर्थे तु ब्रह्मणः सुमहोत्सवः । आसीत् समृद्धो मत्स्येषु पुरुषाणां सुसंमतः ।). The Brahma

³ That the night was a dark one is corroborated by विराट 22. 37, 40 and 92. 'तमस्विन्यां...' or 'सहस्रैव समजग्मुः आदायोल्लाः सहस्रशः ।' The torches were used because the night was dark.

festival took place in the fourth month. Now, 'Bhādrapada' is the 4th month after the entry of the Pāṇḍawas in the Virāṭa kingdom. In 'Bhādrapada,' the Gaṇapati festival is observed. (गणानां त्वा गणपतिं... ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणां). The present Gaṇapati festival was called ब्रह्मोत्सव in the past.

Thus 13 years previously, to the 'Vaiśākha Vadya 13th,' the Pāṇḍawas went in exile. But we know that on 'Vaiśākha Vadya 8th,' Duryodhana was under the impression that the conditional period was not over. He says लोभात् वा ते न विजानीयुः अस्मान् वा मोहमाविशत्। हीनातिरिक्तं एतेषां भीष्मो वदतुं अर्हति। अर्थानां च पुनः द्वेधे नित्यं भवति संशयः।

"Either they do not care to remember the conditions or we have confused over them. Bhīṣma is the proper authority to decide whether the period is yet to be over or it has been already completed. The interpretation of the condition may differ."

Droṇa too had appealed to Bhīṣma to give the right decision. In Virāṭa 51.21-22, (वनवासे हि अनिवृत्ते दर्शयेत् न धनंजयः। धनं अलभमानः सन्न नाद्य तत् क्षंतुं अर्हति। उक्तं दुर्योधनेनापि पुरस्तात् वाक्यमीदृशं। तदनुस्मृत्य गांगेयः यथावत् वक्तुं अर्हति।) he said "Arjuna will not show himself before the period is over. Yet if he discloses himself before the period is over he does not deserve mercy. So let Bhīṣma give the decision."

To this appeal, from both Duryodhana and Droṇa, Bhīṣma gives his answer पंचमे पंचमे वर्षे द्वौ मासौ उपजायतः। एषां अभ्यधिका मासा पंच च द्वादशक्षपाः। त्रयोदशानां वर्षाणां वर्तते इति मे मतिः। सर्वं यथावत् चरितं यत् यत् एभिः प्रतिश्रुतम्। "Every five years two month are added, and in their 13 years condition they will get a remission of five months and twelve nights. Thus in my opinion the Pāṇḍawas have fulfilled their promise."

If we add five months to 'Vaiśākha Vadya 13th,' we get 'Āświna Vadya 13th.' This means that the Pāṇḍawas were defeated in the dice play on this day, thirteen years back. Curiously enough this is exactly the 'Tithi' which is called the 'Yakṣa-rātri,' and on this night people invariably

play 'धूत'. Those who are interested in the history of this धूत should read the article by Mr. P. K. Gode, in the February 1946 issue of the Allahabad *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Journal*.

We can now understand why Arjuna had asked the Prince not to disclose his identity for a few days more, and why Draupadī had asked Sudeṣṇā to allow her to stay in the palace for 13 days more. Yudhiṣṭhira was counting the days and he knew that their promise would be over on 'Vaiśākha Vadya 13th,' when he could legitimately disclose his identity.

Duryodhana on the other hand did not know much about the additional months and he was expecting that there were yet five months more, and the condition would be complete on 'Āświna Vadya 13th.' We have seen already, how Duryodhana was jubilant when Droṇa recognized the sound of the conch of Arjuna, but all his hopes were smashed by the decision of Bhīṣma on that point.

About the hopes of Duryodhana we find another illustration in the Virāṭaparva as follows :—(V. 39. 13)

तं दृष्ट्वा क्लीबवेष्टेण रथस्थं नरपुंगवं ।

गुहः शस्त्रभृतां श्रेष्ठः भारद्वाजोभ्यभाषत ॥

आगतो क्लीबवेष्टेण पार्थो नास्त्यत्र संशयः ।

नेहास्य प्रतियोत्सारं अहं पश्यामि कौरवाः ॥

कर्णः—'सदा भवान् फाल्गुनस्य गुणैः अस्मान् विकत्थसे ।

न च अर्जुनः कलापूर्णः मम दुर्योधनस्य च ॥

दुर्योधनः—'यद्येष पार्थो राधेय कृतं कार्यं भवेत् मम ।

ज्ञाताः पुनः चरिष्यन्ति द्वादशाब्दान् विशांपते ॥

कर्णः—'यदि एष राजा मत्स्यानां यदि बीभत्सुः आगतः ।

वारयिष्याम्यहं एकः वेलेव भकरालय ।

This quotation shows clearly that Duryodhana had planned the attack with the hope that the Pāṇḍawas may be recognized, because the death of Kicāka had suggested that it was probably the work of the Pāṇḍawas.

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In this campaign Arjuna had defeated single handed, six Mahārathis and it was in this battle that the brother of Karna was killed, by Arjuna and also the bragging Karna was routed. Duryodhana was forced to retreat, leaving the cow-herds of Virāṭa free. This attack was started early in the morning of 'Vaiśākha Vadya 8th,' and Arjuna returned to the town of Virāṭa, after achieving victory, in the afternoon. (V. 67 . 19 अपराह्णे हि यास्यामो विराटं-नगरं प्रति।)

Virāṭa 72, 14, ततः त्रयोदशे वर्षे निवृत्ते पंच पांडवाः। उपप्लव्यं विराटस्य समपद्यंत सर्वशः। tells that the Pāṇḍawas shifted to Upaplawya, after they had completed the condition of 13 years of exile. We have already seen that the date of the expiry of this period was 'Vaiśākha Vadya 13-14th.' Thus it is clear that they must have shifted from the Virāṭa town to Upaplawya, in the beginning of 'Jyēṣṭha Śukla.' But I have already shown that the nomenclature of the month coincides in the bright half of any month, whether it be अमांत or पौर्णिमांत, method of calculation. The 'Tithi' of the expiry of the condition, being in the dark half, the nomenclature of the month varies. For the sake of clarity let me repeat the statement, about the day, on which the exile condition was laid down, and then again the date of the expiry. The dice play (द्यूत) started on 'Āświna Vadya 14th,' यक्षरात्रि according to the 'अमांत' nomenclature. By the पौर्णिमांत method यक्षरात्रि would be 'Kārtika Vadya 14th.' The Pāṇḍawas actually started for the exile, a day or two later, i.e., on 'Kārtika Śukla 1st, or 2nd.' As it is the bright half of 'Kārtika' the nomenclature of the month coincides according to both the methods.

The date of the expiry of the condition was 'Vaiśākha Vadya 13th' by the 'अमांत' method, but by the 'पौर्णिमांत' method it was 'Jyēṣṭha Vadya 13th.' But as the Pāṇḍawas shifted to Upaplawya in the bright half of 'Jyēṣṭha' the nomenclature of the month again coincides.

Now let us try to determine the 'Tithi' on which the first emissary was sent by the Pāṇḍawas to Hastināpura. For, Udyoga, 6. 17, स भवान् पुष्ययोगेन प्रायातु आशु च कौरवान् tells that the emissary left when the 'Nakṣatra' was 'Puṣya'. The marriage of Abhimanyu must have taken place in the bright half of the month of 'Jyeṣṭha.' We know that the moon is in 'Jyeṣṭha nakṣatra' on the full moon day of that month. 'Puṣya' is the 17th 'Nakṣatra' from 'Jyeṣṭha.' Therefore the emissary must have left on 'Āṣāḍha Śukla 2nd' at the earliest, or 27 days later, on 'Āṣāḍha Vadya 14th,' when the 'Nakṣatra' appears again. 'Āṣāḍha Vadya 14th' can be easily discarded, because the 'Tithi' is in the dark half and more so as they approached 'Amāwāsya,' they are never classified as auspicious for departures. Thus 'Āṣāḍha Śukla 2nd' must be the 'Tithi' on which the emissary left.

Now let us consider some incidents which preceded the departure of the emissary, because they throw a good deal of light on the question, about the differences of opinion that arose, when Bhīṣma gave his opinion that the Pāṇḍawas had completed their promise on 'Vaiśākha Vadya 8th,' and they had no more any moral obligations on that score. Duryodhana and Karṇa were of the opinion that the Pāṇḍawas failed to fulfil the promise, because the period expired on 'Āświna Vadya 14th' and not on 'Vaiśākha Vadya 8th.' The grace of five months was a partiality shown by Bhīṣma to the Pāṇḍawas. As Bhīṣma was considered as the final authority, on such questions, Karṇa and Duryodhana could not openly challenge him. But whenever occasions arose, both Karṇa and Duryodhana expressed their dis-satisfaction about the decision.

Udyogā, 1.1, कृत्वा विवाहं तु कुरुप्रवीराः विश्रम्य चत्वारि उपसि प्रतीताः सभां विराटस्य ततोऽभिजग्मुः। tells that the meeting took place in the palace of Virāṭa after the ceremony of the marriage of Abhimanyu was over, at Upa-

plawya. Drupada, Balarāma, Sātyakī, Kṛṣṇa, Śrīmbha, Pradyumna and others were present. It was Kṛṣṇa who addressed the meeting first. 'युधिष्ठिरः सौवलेन अक्षवत्यां जितः निकृत्वा अपहृतं च राज्यं। शक्ता विजेतुं तरसा महीं अपि सौले स्थितः सत्यरथैः यथावत्॥ पांडोः सुतैः तत् व्रतं उग्रह्वं क्लेशान् असह्यान् विविधैः सहद्भिः। वर्ष त्रयोदशं तु वने निविष्टं' "The Kingdom of 'Indraprastha' was inherited by the Pāṇḍawas and they had even expanded it by their own valour. Duryodhana snatched away this inherited kingdom, not by defeating the Pāṇḍawas in a war, but by the crooked way of the defeat in the dice play. The Pāṇḍawas suffered innumerable hardships, just because they meant to remain true to their words, and they have now completed their stipulated period. Yudhiṣṭhira must now get back the kingdom which he can claim now as a right. We do not know, what step Duryodhana wishes to take now. It is better to send an emissary to negotiate and try to get back the legal share, as a demand and not as favour."

Balarāma was however, of a different opinion. In Udyoga, 2. 8, (प्रियाभ्युपेतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य हूते प्रसक्तस्य हृतं च राज्यं।) Balarāma says 'it was the fault of Yudhiṣṭhira' to play the game of dice with Śakunī, who was well known to be an expert in the game. Yudhiṣṭhira wanted a victory over Śakunī, which was impossible for a novice like him. It was no fault of Śakunī to conquer Yudhiṣṭhira, when the play took place. Thus the kingdom cannot be asked for as a demand, but Duryodhana should be requested to give back the kingdom."

Balarāma further maintained that Duryodhana was already a king and he was behaving according to the Śāstras (Udyoga 2, 6,7), so care should be taken that he does not get angry, by the demand, and the request should be made with all humility.

दुर्योधनः तु निगमप्रधानः स्थितः च हर्षेण तथास्वकेषु।

सर्वान् अवस्थान् च न. कोप्यः।

Sātyakī got angry. He was pained to see the contrast between the attitude of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and their behaviour towards the Pāṇḍawas.

एकस्मिन्नेव जायेते कुले क्लीब महाबलौ ।
 नाभ्यसूयामि ते वाक्यं ब्रुवतो लंगलध्वज ।
 ये शृण्वन्ति तु ते वाक्यं तान् अभ्यसूयामि माधव ।
 कथं हि धर्मराजस्य दोषं अल्पं अपि ब्रुवन् ॥
 लभते परिषत् मध्ये व्याहर्तुं अकुतो भयः ।
 यदि कुंती सुतं गेहे क्रीडन्तं आतृभिः सह ।
 अभिगम्य जयेयुः ते तत् तेषां धर्मतो भवेत् ।
 समाहूय तु राजानं क्षत्रधर्मरतं सदा ॥
 निकृत्या जितवंतः ते किं नु तेषां परं शुभम् ।
 कथं प्रणिपतेत् चायं इह कृत्वा परंपण ॥
 वनवासात् विमुक्तः तु प्राप्तं पैतामहं पदम् ।
 नाधर्मो विद्यते कश्चित् शत्रून् हत्वा ततायिनः ॥
 अधर्म्यं अयशस्थं च शात्रवाणां प्रयाचनम् ॥

This long quotation is given here intentionally to show how vehemently Sātyakī opposed the suggestion of Balarāma to entreat Duryodhana in a humiliating manner. On the other hand he maintains that it is the 'Dharma' of the Kṣatriyas to kill kings like Duryodhana who are desperadoes.

"In 'Vana-Parva' we get a similar statement by Kṛṣṇa. He says निकृत्य उपचरन् वध्यः एष धर्मः सनातनः । "with the rogues you should not deal in a straight-forward manner, but they should be paid in the same coin."

The king Drupada also opposed the suggestion by Balarāma. He said

"नहि दुर्योधनो राज्यं मधुरेण प्रदास्यति ।
 बलदेवस्य वाक्यं तु मम ज्ञाने व युज्यते ।
 गर्दभे मार्दवं कुर्यात् गोषु तीक्ष्णं समाचरेत् ।
 मृदु दुर्योधने वाक्यं यो ब्रूयात् पापचेतसे ।
 मृदुं वै मन्यते पापो भाषमाणं अशक्तिकं ।
 जितं अर्थं विजानीयात् अबुधो मार्दवे सति ।
 प्रेक्ष्यतां धृतराष्ट्राय मम राजन् पुरोहितः ।
 यथा दुर्योधनो वाच्यो वाक्यं अस्मै प्रणिपताम् ॥

In this way the chief priest of Drupada left for negotiations. I think that the 'Tithi' of his departure must be 'Āṣāḍha Śukla 2nd.' Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma also went to Dwāraka.

When Duryodhana learnt from his men that Kṛṣṇa has left for Dwārakā, he himself went to Dwārakā to get help from vṛṣṇi family, in the war. He knew that Kṛṣṇa would not be on his side and yet he approached Kṛṣṇa.

ततो दुर्योधनः कृष्णं उवाच प्रहसन्निव ।
विग्रहेऽस्मिन् भवान् साह्यं मम दातुं इहार्हति ।
समं हि भवतः सख्यं मम चैवार्जुनेपि च ।
तया संबंधकं तुल्यं अस्माकं त्वयि माधव ॥

He argued with Kṛṣṇa that Arjuna was related to him in the same way as he (Duryodhana) was related with to Kṛṣṇa. Thus he also deserved help from the 'vṛṣṇi' family. He said all this in a tone of ridicule which suggested that Kṛṣṇa was partial in identifying himself with the Pāṇḍawas.

Duryodhana also went to Balarāma and requested him to join his side in the case of war. Balarāma said,

“मयोक्तं हि विराटस्य पुरा वैवाहिके तदा ।
निगृह्योक्तो हृषीकेशः त्वयार्थं मधुसूदनः ।
मया संबंधकं तुल्यं इति राजन् पुनः पुनः ।
न च तत् वाक्यं उक्तं वै केशवं प्रत्यपद्यत ।
नार्ह सहाय्यः पार्थस्य नापि दुर्योधनस्य वै ।
इति मे निश्चिता बुद्धिः वासुदेवं अवेक्ष्य ह ।
गच्छ धर्मेण युध्यस्व क्षात्रेण पुरुषर्षभ ।

Udyoga 20, tells what the chief priest told 'Dhṛtarāṣṭra,' 'Bhīṣma' and others. He said "Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra were brothers and had the same father. They ought to inherit equally the property of their father. The sons of Pāṇḍu must get the share of their father, but Dhṛtarāṣṭra is unjustly withholding their share. By the foul means of the dice play their share was snatched away and they were driven to the woods for 13 years. Without grumbling that condition is also fulfilled. Now their due share should be

returned. The Pāṇḍawas do not wish to wage war to get their share. If Duryodhana is not ready to give the share without a war, they are prepared to wage a war also.

ते भवन्तो यथाधर्मं यथासमयं एव च ।

प्रयच्छन्तु प्रदातव्यं मा वः कालः अत्यागात् अयं ॥

Udyoga 21, tells that Bhīṣma said that the demands of the Pāṇḍawas were just, but the words in which they were given were rather strong.

अति तीक्ष्णं तु ते वाक्यं ब्राह्मण्यात् इति मे मतिः ।

When Arjuna was in the battle field it was very hard to fight against him. When Karna heard this speech of Bhīṣma, he took an objection to what Bhīṣma maintained. He said to the priest "You Brāhmaṇa, what is the use of repeating the same useless arguments, over and over again. Śakunī had defeated Yudhiṣṭhira in the dice play. The Pāṇḍawas were recognized before their period of vow was over. Thus they have no moral basis to demand the kingdom back. If Yudhiṣṭhira wants his kingdom back he ought to go to the forest for 12 years more and then Duryodhana will give them, not only the half, but the whole of the kingdom.

धर्मतः तु महीं कृत्स्नां प्रदद्यात् शत्रवे अपि च ।

The Pāṇḍawas do not wish to be religious and they are now demanding the kingdom under the threat of arms. It is foolish to expect that Duryodhana will yield to such threats. Tell the Pāṇḍawas that Karna alone can rout the Virāṭas and the Pāṇḍawas put together."

Bhīṣma got angry when he heard Karna, indirectly challenging his decision that the moral responsibility of the Pāṇḍawas was over, and that they could claim back their share. Bhīṣma said, "Karna, why are you bragging like a fool. Do'n't you remember that you were bragging like that while the cowherd campaign was going on, and you were yet—easily routed by Arjuna."

Then Dhṛtarāṣṭra intervened and said that he was sending Sañjaya to the Pāṇḍawas. It is interesting to note that

Sañjaya appears here first in the Bhārata story. Before the Udyoga Parva, the name of Sañjaya does not appear at all. Sañjaya is a predominant figure upto the 'Stri-parva,' which means the end of the war. In the 'Parvas' 12 to 18 we do not find Sañjaya again. This shows that Sañjaya was a war correspondent. I have established this fact independently, in the Feb. 1946 issue of the *Allabad Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Journal*.

Udyoga 23. 1, tells that Sañjaya went to Upaplavya. Udyoga 32. 1, tells that Sañjaya returned with a word from Yudhiṣṭhira. Udyoga 47, 77 gives a description of the delivery of the message by Sañjaya in the court of Duryodhana. After hearing the message Bhīṣma said to Duryodhana, (त्रयाणां एव च मतं त्वमेको अनुमन्यसे । दुर्जातः सूतपुत्रस्य शकुनेः सौबलस्य च ॥ तथा क्षुद्रस्य पापस्य भ्रातुः दुःशासनस्य च ॥) "You are always prone to listen to the advice of the lowborn Karna, the crooked Śakunī and your wicked brother Duśśāsana." Karna got angry when he heard the remark of (दुर्जातः) from Bhīṣma. He said, "क्षात्रधर्मे स्थितो ह्यस्मि स्वधर्मात् अनपेयिवान् । किं चान्यत् मयि दुर्वृत्तं येन मां परिगृह्यसे ॥ नाचरं वृजिनं किञ्चित् धार्तराष्ट्रस्य नित्यशः । अहं हि पांडवान् सर्वान् हनिष्यामि रणे स्थितान् ॥ प्राक् विरुद्धेः शमं सदिभः कथं वा क्रियते पुनः । राज्ञो हि धृतराष्ट्रस्य सर्वं कार्यं प्रियं मया ॥ तथा दुर्योधनस्यापि स हि राज्ये समाहितः ॥

Bhīṣma told Duryodhana that Karna always brags simply, that he would defeat all the Pāṇḍawas single-handed. In the fight with Virāṭa however, Arjuna had easily defeated Karna, although Arjuna was then single-handed.

Udyoga 72, tells "when Sañjaya returned to Hastināpur, Yudhiṣṭhira got restive and requested Kṛṣṇa to instruct him about the manner in which he should proceed so as to avoid war." He says

"यद्वयं कौरवात् हत्वा तानि राष्ट्राणि आप्नुमः ।

ये पुनः स्युः असंबद्धाः अतार्याः कृष्णशत्रवः ।

तेषां अपि अवधः कार्याः किं पुनः ये स्युः ईदृशाः ।

ज्ञातयः चैव भूयिष्ठा सहायाः गुरवः च नः ॥

पापः क्षत्रियधर्मोयं वयं च क्षत्रबांधवाः ।

वयं वधेन जीवामः कपालं ब्राह्मणैः वृतम् ॥

“The rôle of a ‘Kṣatriya’ in society is the most sinful one, because he lives by killing others. The begging bowl also cannot be restored to because it is already handed over to the Brāhmaṇas.”

Kṛṣṇa says

सर्वं जानामि अभिप्रायं तेषां च भवतः च यः ।

तव धर्माश्रिता बुद्धिः तेषां वैराश्रया मतिः ।

यत् अयुद्धेन लभ्येत तत् ते बहुमतं भवेत् ।

जयो वधो वा संग्रामे धात्रा आदिष्टः सनातनः ।

स्वधर्मो क्षत्रियस्येषः कार्यं न प्रशस्यते ॥

नहि कार्यं आस्थाय शक्या वृत्तिः युधिष्ठिर ।

आहुः आश्रमिणः सर्वे न भैक्ष्यं क्षत्रियः चरेत् ।

It is interesting to note the word ‘कृपण’ in this answer. To beg favours from others is ‘कृपणत्व’, for a Kṣatriya. *Gītā* uses the same word. Kṛṣṇa finally accepted to go for negotiations with the express condition that he would not beg for five towns, but put it forth as the minimum demand, to avoid war.

On what ‘Tithi’ Kṛṣṇa started, we shall try to determine it, in the next part.

The problem about the exact day (तिथि) rather the ‘नक्षत्र’ on which the Kuru war started is still undecided. The ‘Tithi’ on which Bhīṣma passed away is also not ascertained. The months in which both these incidents occurred are definitely known and there are no differences of opinion on that point. The month of the Kuru war was ‘मार्गशीर्ष’. The month in which Bhīṣma passed away was ‘माघ’. The third problem about the number of days for which Bhīṣma was on the arrow-bed is also unsolved. Because unless the date of the Kuru war is fixed and the date of passing away of Bhīṣma is determined, it is not possible to count the days for which Bhīṣma was on the arrow-bed.

The Tithi of the Kuru war is given by *Bhārata-Sāvitṛī*. It is हेमन्ते प्रथमे मासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदशी । प्रवृत्तं भारतं युद्धं नक्षत्रे यमदेवते (मृग). Mr. Karandikar, editor of the *Kesari* arrives at the date 'शुक्ल एकादशी' while Mr. R. V. Vaidya of Ujjain gives it to be 'कृष्ण द्वितीया'. We shall try to fix this 'Tithi' first on the evidence of the statement of Balarāma. We know definitely that Balarāma started for the pilgrimage on 'पुष्य नक्षत्र' and returned on the day on which the war ended. The 'नक्षत्र' on the day of his return was 'श्रवण' and the total number of days he passed in pilgrimage was 42. This is a good criterion to determine the 'नक्षत्र' on which the war started, because we know that the war continued for 18 days only.

In the '*Mahābhārata*' we find references to the 'नक्षत्र' on the days of arrivals or departures. At times the 'Tithi' is also referred to. No names of the days in a week are mentioned in the literature of the whole of the '*Mahābhārata*.' As the moon covers one 'नक्षत्र' per day and the position of the moon in relation to the 'नक्षत्र' can be observed every night, the counting of the days was equivalent to the counting of the 'नक्षत्र'. The names of the months were given by observing the 'नक्षत्र' with which the moon's position coincided, on the full moon day. There was thus the idea of a 'पक्ष', 'शुक्ल' or 'कृष्ण'. The fortnight or 'पक्ष' had, however, no fixed number of days, because it was a relation between the full-moon and the new-moon day, which is a variable quantity. It varied from 14 to 16 days normally, but very rarely it was even observed to be 13 days. Because Vyāsa says 'चतुर्दशी पंचदशी भूतपूर्वा च षोडशी । इमां तु नाभिजानेहं अमावास्यां त्रयोदशी । चंद्रसूर्यो उभौ प्रस्तौ एक मासीं त्रयोदशी । A solar eclipse can occur only on 'अमावास्या' and the lunar eclipse will occur on 'पौर्णिमा'. Of the two eclipses the lunar eclipse had taken place on कार्तिक पौर्णिमा'.

अलक्ष्य प्रभया हीनः पौर्णिमासीं च कार्तिकीं ।

चंद्रोभूत् अग्निवर्णः च पद्मवर्णं नभःतले ॥ भी० २:१३

It means that this peculiar phenomenon of two eclipses within a period of 13 days had occurred in the month preceding the month of 'मार्गशीर्ष' in which the war took place. As we know the total number of days for which Balarāma was on pilgrimage, we can say the war started on the 25th day from the day of his departure for the pilgrimage. We shall try to determine the place and the circumstances under which Balarāma left for the pilgrimage.

Udyoga 157th chapter tells that Kṛṣṇa had returned after the failure of his negotiations. At 'उपप्लव्य' Yudhiṣṭhira was performing the ceremony of appointing seven generals. While the ceremony was going on Balarāma entered the palace with अक्रूर, गद, सांब, उद्धव etc. He requested the audience that Duryodhana being also a relative, he too, ought to be given some help. But Kṛṣṇa was entirely against Balarāma siding with Duryodhana. Kṛṣṇa wished that if Balarāma did not wish to help the Pāṇḍawas he ought not to help Duryodhana also. Ultimately Balarāma yielded to submit to the wishes of Kṛṣṇa and decided to leave for pilgrimage, on the banks of the Saraswati on the very day with the persons mentioned above.

A second incident had happened on the same day and this gives an additive support to the event of the departure of Balarāma. Rukmi, a brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa, had come to 'युधिष्ठिर' to offer the help of his armies to Ydhiṣṭhir after Balarāma had departed. His help was, however, refused because he had first approached Duryodhana and when Duryodhana refused to accept his help he had come to the side of the Pāṇḍawas. Udyoga 158. 39, tells गते रामे तीर्थ-यात्रां भीष्मकस्य सुते तथा । उपाविशन् पांडवेयाः संत्राय पुनरेव च ॥

The Pāṇḍawa army moved from 'उपप्लव्य' to 'कुरुक्षेत्र' on the same day, after the ceremony of appointing the generals was over. Śalyaparva 35. 8, 15 रौहिणेये गते शूरे पुष्येण

मधुसूदनः। पांडवेयान् पुरस्कृत्य इदं वचनं अब्रवीत्। निर्गच्छध्वं पांडवेयः पुष्पेण सहिता मया॥ This reference gives a corroborative evidence to fix the date of the departure of Balarāma.

Thus, if we can determine the 'Tithis' on which there is the 'नक्षत्र' 'पुष्य' in the month of 'कार्तिक' the 'Tithi' of the commencement of the war must be the 25th day from the day of the departure of Balārāma and the Pāṇḍava army from 'उपप्लव्य'. We know that on 'कार्तिकी पौर्णिमा' the moon is in 'Kṛttikā.' 'Puṣya' is the 5th from 'Kṛttikā.' Thus, on 'कार्तिक वद्य' 5th the 'नक्षत्र' must be 'पुष्य' "Mṛga, is the 25th 'Nakṣatra' from 'Puṣya.' Hence the 'Tithi' of the war must be the 25th day from 'कार्तिक वद्य' 5th. But 'मार्ग शुक्ल' 13th. is the 25th day from 'कार्तिक वद्य पंचमी'. The 'Nakṣatra' 'Mṛga' will also be found to coincide the 13-14th of 'Mārgaśīrṣa.' We have now determined the 'Tithi' of the Kuru war and we find that it coincides with that given by the '*Bhārata Sāvitrī*'.

The 'Tithi' 'मार्गशीर्ष' 11th given by Mr. Karandikar is clearly wrong. Because there can never be the 'Mṛga Nakṣatra' on the 11th of 'Mārgaśīrṣa.' From 'Mṛga' the 'Śravaṇā' is the 18th and the 18th day from 'Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla' 13-14th is 'Pauṣa Śukla' 2nd. From the Indian almanac it can be verified that the 'Nakṣatra' 'Śravaṇā' is generally on that 'Tithi.'

Another important corroboration 'Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla' 13-14th. can be obtained from the date of the death of 'Ghaṭotkaca' who we know was killed on the night of the 14th day of the war. 'Jayadratha' was killed in the evening of the 14th day. The fight started again after a temporary rest of three hours. Drona, 186. त्रिभाग मात्र शेषायां रात्र्यां युद्धं अवर्तत। The armies got tired and after Ghaṭotkaca was killed every one slept with the chariots yoked. Even the horses and elephants slept in their yoked position being very much tired एवं हयाः च नागाः च योधाः च। युद्धात् विरम्य सुषुप्तुः युक्ता वाहेषु सन्ध्याः।

Then the moon rose in the east. A 'Muhūrta' afterwards there was the day-break.

ततः कुमुदनाथेन माहेन्द्री दिक् अलंकृता । ततो मुहूर्तात् भगवान् पुरस्तात् शशलक्षणः ।
अरुणं दर्शयामास प्रसन् चांद्रीं प्रभां प्रभुः । ततो मुहूर्तात् भुवनं ज्योतिर्भूतं इवाभवत् ।

From this description of the time difference between the rising of the moon and the sun we can determine the 'Tithi' of the day. On the 'Amāwāsya' day the moon and the sun rise together. On the 14th, the moon rises a 'Muhūrta' earlier than the sun. On the 13th, the moon rises two मुहूर्त earlier. As we know that the war started on the 13 of Mārgaśīrṣa, then on the beginning of the 15th day from this, the 'Tithi' must be the 13th of the dark half.

If we accept 'Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla' 11th as given by Mr. Karandikar to be the date of the commencement of the war, the 15th day from this day would be the 11th of the dark half and the moon will rise far earlier than the description in the text given above. This proves that the 'Tithi' 11th given by Mr. Karandikar does not tally with the description of the incidents. The war must end on the 14th of the dark half of 'Mārgaśīrṣa' if we accept the 'Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla' 11th as the day of the commencement of the war. The 'Śravaṇa Nakṣatra' is never on the 14th of the dark half of 'Mārgaśīrṣa.' There is no doubt about the 'Śravaṇa Nakṣatra' being there on the day on which the war ended.

The 'Puṣya Nakṣatra' at the time of the departure of Balarāma is thus a good stepping stone to work out days backwards and forwards to mark out the incidents before or after this event. Now, we shall work backwards and find out the 'Tithi' of the departure of the armies of Duryodhana and the 'Tithi' on which Kṛṣṇa started for negotiations from Upaplavya, and his meeting with Karna, to dissuade him from taking part in the war.

Kṛṣṇa had started from Upaplavya on 'Revatī Nakṣatra' and the month was full of moonlight. And it was

the end of the 'Śarad R̥tu'⁴ when the cold was just approaching (कौमुदे मासि रेवत्यां शरदं ते हिमागमे) This month can be either 'Āświna' or 'Kārtika.' The 'Revāti-Nakṣatra' is on the 12th. of the bright half of Kārtika and on the 14th of the bright half of Āświna. But we know that the Pāṇḍawa army had started on 'Kārtika vadya' 5th. on 'Pusya Nakṣatra.' There is hardly a week between the departure of Kṛṣṇa from Upaplavya and the departure of the armies of Pāṇḍawas from Upaplavya for Kurukṣetra. if we assume that it was on the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika, when Kṛṣṇa left Upaplavya. Before returning to Upaplavya Kṛṣṇa had seen Karṇa and tried to dissuade him from the war. The day on which they met was the 8th of the dark half, because Kṛṣṇa tells Karṇa that 'seven days later the new moon day will appear' (सप्तमात् चापि दिवसात् अमावास्या). Thus it is clear that Kṛṣṇa must have started from Upaplavya on the 14th. of the bright half of Āświna, and not on the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika.

Kṛṣṇa started early in the morning and stopped at 'Vṛkashālī' which he reached in the evening. The next day he left that place and reached Hastināpura in the evening. Here, he halted with Vidura.

While leaving for negotiations, Kṛṣṇa had given orders that a thousand armed men should follow him secretly. He argued that if the negotiations failed, he must be ready for the emergency of escape without being arrested. (Udyog. 83. 11-13) "

‘रथ आरोप्यतां शंखः चक्रं च श्रद्धया सह ।
उपासंगाः च शक्तयः च सर्वप्रहरणानि च ॥
दुर्योधनः च दुष्टात्मा कर्णः च सह सौबलः ।
न च शत्रुः अवज्ञेयो दुर्बलोपि बलीयसां ॥
प्रयातं देवकीपुत्रं परवीर रुजो दश ।

(84.2.)

⁴ In the पौर्णिमांत method, the हेमंत ऋतु begins from कार्तिकी पौर्णिमा ।

महारथाः महाबाहुं अन्वयुः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥

पदातीनां सहस्रं च सादिनां च परंतप ।

The anticipation of Kṛṣṇa appears to be correct. For Udyoga—88. 12, tells that Duryodhana had actually put forth the suggestion in the presence of Bhīṣma and others, that he wanted their help in arresting Kṛṣṇa and that Kṛṣṇa should be given no hint of the move.

इदं तु सुमहत् कार्यं शृणु मे यत् समर्थितम् ।

परायणं पांडवानां नियच्छामि जनार्दनम् ।

तस्मिन् बद्धे भविष्यति वृष्णयः पृथिवी तथा ।

अत्रोपायान् यथा सम्यक् न बुद्ध्येत जनार्दनः ।

न चापायो भवेत् कश्चित् तत् भवान् प्रब्रवीतु मे ।

Udyoga 91, tells that Kṛṣṇa went to the house of Duryodhana.

ततो दुर्योधनो राजा वाष्ण्यं जयतां वर ।

न्यमंत्रयत् भोजनेन नाभ्यनंदत् च केशवः ॥

मृदु पूर्वं शठोदकं तदा दुर्योधनो अब्रवीत् ।

कस्मात् अन्नानि पानानि नागृहीः त्वं जनार्दन ॥

संबन्धी दयितुः चासि उभयोश्च हिते रतः ।

त्वं हि गोविंद धर्मार्थौ वेत्थ तत्त्वेन सर्वशः ॥

कृष्णः—कृतार्थं भुंजते दूताः पूजां गृह्णति चैव हि ।

कृतार्थं मां सहामात्यं समर्चिष्यसि भारत ॥

दुर्योधनः—कृतार्थं वा अकृतार्थं च यतामो त्वां हि पूजितं ।

वैरं वः नास्ति भवतः गोविंद न च विग्रहः ॥

कृष्णः—नाहं कामात् न समारंभात् न द्वेषात् नार्थकारणात् ।

न हेतुवादात् लोभात् वा धर्मं जह्यां कथंचन ॥

अकस्मात् चैव पार्थनां द्वेषणं नोपपद्यते ।

यः तान् द्वेष्टि सभां द्वेष्टि यः तान् अनु सभां अनु ॥

गुणवंतं च यो द्वेष्टि तमाहुः पुरुषाधमं ।

सर्वं एतत् न भोक्तव्यं अन्नं दुष्टाभिसंहितम् ॥

संप्रीतिभोज्यानि अन्नानि आपत् भोज्यानि वा पुनः ।

न च संप्रीयसे राजन् नहि चापदगता वयम् ॥

After this talk Kṛṣṇa left the house of Duryodhana, and stayed with Vidura for his meals a night.

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Udyoga 95, gives the description of the official gathering where Kṛṣṇa put forth the just and minimum demands of the Pāṇḍawas. He said that if that was not accepted, they must prepare for war.

Udyoga 130, tells that Duryodhana went out of the gathering and planned with Śakunī, Karna and Duśśāsana to arrest Kṛṣṇa, before he left the court, and thus end at one stroke, all the future attempts of the Pāṇḍawas to wage a war. Sātyakī who was present in the court, recognized that some foul play was intended. He immediately went out and asked Kṛtawarmā to keep his men ready at the gate, so that escape should be easily effected.

वयं एव हृषीकेशं निगृह्णीम बलादिव ।
 निरुद्धमा भविष्यति पांडवाः सोमकैः सह ।
 तेषां पापं अभिप्रायं अन्वबुद्ध्यत सात्यकिः ।
 तदर्थं अभिनिष्क्रम्य कृतवर्माणं अन्नवीत् ।
 सभाद्वारं उपातिष्ठ क्षिप्रं योजय वाहिनीम् ।
 आचष्ट तं अभिप्रायं केशवाय महात्मने ।

Udyoga 131, tells that Kṛṣṇa told the audience that Duryodhana planned to arrest him, thinking that he (Kṛṣṇa) was unaided.

“एकोहं इति यत् मोहात् मन्यते मां सुयोधनः ।
 परिभूय सुदुर्बुद्धिः गृहीतुं मां चिकीर्षते ॥”

As Kṛṣṇa was prepared for the emergency, it appears that Kṛṣṇa managed to get out of the court, after some clash of arms.

Udyoga 153, tells प्रति याते तु दाशार्हे राजा दुर्योधनः तदा । कर्णं दुःशासनं चैव शकुनिं चाब्रवीत् इदं । शिविराणि कुरुक्षेत्रे क्रियतां वसुधाधिपाः । प्रयाणं धुष्यतां अद्य श्वोभूत इति मा चिरम् । This shows clearly that the king Duryodhana issued the orders that the armies should start for Kurukṣetra the next day.

Udyoga 155-56, tell, “व्युष्टायां वै रजन्यां हि राजा दुर्योधनः तदा । ततः शांतनवं भीष्मं इदं वचनं अब्रवीत् । भवान् उशनसा तुल्यः स नः सेनापतिः भव । असंहार्यः स्थितो धर्मं हितेषी च तदा मम ।” This shows that on the

next day Duryodhana requested Bhīṣma to be his general. Bhīṣma accepted the offer on the condition, that as long as he lived, there should be no other general. "Karna always envies me, so either let him be the first general to command the armies, or let me be the first to command. I cannot tolerate this 'अर्धरथः' Karna along with me. Droṇa has already given him the nickname 'अर्धरथः,' because he always bragged about his valour, but when the time comes he gets defeated and runs away.

सेनापतिः तु अहं समये नापरेण ते ।

कर्णो वा युद्धयतां पूर्वं अहं वा पृथिवीपते ॥

द्रोणः—'रणेरणे अभिमानी च विमुखः च अपि दृश्यते ।

घृणी कर्णः प्रमादी च तेन मे अर्धरथः मतः ॥

Karna was naturally enraged and took the oath that he would not fight while Bhīṣma was living. Then the ceremony of appointing Bhīṣma as the general was gone through, and the king gave orders that as the 'Nakṣatra' was 'Puṣya' on that day, they should start for Kurukṣetra that very day.

ततः सेनापतिं चक्रे विधिवत् भूरि दक्षिणं ।

धृतराष्ट्रात्मजो भीष्मं सोभिषिक्तो व्यरोचत ॥

आज्ञापयत् च राजा तान् पाथिवान् नष्टचेतसः ।

प्रायाध्वं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं पुण्यः अद्य इति पुनः पुनः ॥

While the 'Abhiṣeka' ceremony was going on, there was a shower of blood and flesh from the sky. 'प्रादुरासन् अनन्ने च वर्षहधिरकर्दमः सैनापत्ये यदा राजा गांगयं अभिषिक्तवान् ॥ ततः सेनापतिं कृत्वा भीष्मं परबलार्दनं । स्कंधवारेण महता कुरुक्षेत्रं जगाम ह । Udyoga 157. 28, 31.

Udyoga 140. 1, "उपारोष्य रथे कर्णं निर्यातो मधुसूदनः ।" shows clearly that Kṛṣṇa took the opportunity of disuading Karna from taking part in the war. In this talk Karna gives the position of 'Rāhu' and the Sun, and predicts that a solar eclipse may take place. Karna did not accept the proposal of Kṛṣṇa. Then Kṛṣṇa tells, 'सप्तमात् दिवसात् अमावास्या भविष्यति'

The position of the Sun is between हस्त and Citrā⁵. Seven days later the moon also arrived there because it was 'Amāwāsya.' Citrā is seventh from Puṣya. Thus we know that when the meeting between Kṛṣṇa and Kārṇa took place, the नक्षत्र was Puṣya, and the 'tithi' was Āświna Vadya 8th by the 'Amānta' method, or Kārtika Vadya

⁵ Here I take the opportunity of rectifying a faulty argument in my article in the November 1945 issue, on the 15th page and in the note on the 17th page. I thank Mr. Iyer for pointing out the error. His article has appeared in Nov. 46 issue. At the end of the present article, it will be found that I have corrected another error in the November, 45 article.

I had argued in that article that because the two eclipses separated by 13 days occur always in the bright fort-night and never in the dark one, the solar eclipse must precede the lunar eclipse. This argument was wrong. The correct proof for my statement— "A solar eclipse followed by a lunar one on the Kārtika full moon,"— is as follows. Kārṇa was accompanied by Sañjaya (सहास्माभिः (संजय) निववृते राधेयो दीनमानसः Ud. 143. 52) when the meeting between Kārṇa and Kṛṣṇa took place in the chariot of Kṛṣṇa. 'आरोप्याथ रथे कर्णं प्रायात् । मंत्रयामास च तदा कर्णेन सुचिरं सह Ud. 137.29 Kārṇa says विशेषेण हि वार्ष्णेय चित्रां पीडयत ग्रहः । सोमस्य लक्ष्म व्यावृत्तं राहुः अर्कं उपैति च Ud. 143. 10. Kṛṣṇa also says "ब्रूयाः कर्णं इतो गत्वा द्रोणं शान्तनवं कृपं । संग्रामं युज्यतां तस्यां (अमावास्यां) तामाहुः शक्रदेवतां ॥" The words 'चित्रां व्यावृत्तं राहुः अर्कं उपैति।' do clearly indicate that the motion of Rāhu is a receding one and distinct from the motion of the sun, which is from Citrā to Swātī, etc. Kṛṣṇa tells that the Amāwāsya will take place near the Citrā star चित्रा=शक्रदेवता) after seven days. Kārṇa even predicts a solar eclipse on that Amāwāsya near the Citrā star. We know that Kṛṣṇa left for negotiations one day previous to the Āświna full moon. Therefore the Amāwāsya must be that one which followed Āświna Paurṇimā. Vyāsa also corroborates the position of the Sun and the Rāhu on this Amāwāsya 'चित्रास्वात्यंतयोर्मध्ये विष्ठितः परुषः ग्रहः । रोहिणीं पीडयत्येवं उभौ च शशिभास्करो ॥ चंद्रसूर्यो उभौ ग्रस्तौ एकमासी त्रयोदशी । अपर्वणि ग्रहेणेतौ प्रजाः संक्षपयिष्यतः ॥ Bhīṣ. 3.28. About the lunar eclipse near the Kṛttikā star we are quite certain. On the Amāwāsya following the Kārtika Paurṇimā, the sun and the moon come in Viśākhā. The position of Rāhu does not change much during a month. Thus, the Rāhu in Citrā cannot eclipse the sun in Viśākhā.

Thus it will be seen that the basic statement from which I have deduced the exact year of the war is correct, though my argument was wrong. The error in my argument does in no way vitiate the super-structure built on a correct basis, as might possibly appear by reading the objections raised by Mr. Iyer in his article. His criticism about the earthquakes will be answered in a separate article:

8th by the Paurṇimānta method. The army of दुर्योधन left Hastināpura on the same day. The army of the Pāṇḍawas on the other hand must have left Upaplavya after Kṛṣṇa returned to the Pāṇḍawas. It is thus clear that the Pāṇḍawa army moved for Kurukṣetra 27 days after the departure of the Kaurawa army, because the moon arrived in Puṣya 27 days later. The 'tithi' of the departure of the Pāṇḍawa army was thus Kārtika Vadya 5th, which I have already established.

It was generally believed so far, that both the armies started for Kurukṣetra on one and the same day. No explanation could be offered to the clear statement in the *Mahābhārata* that the occasion was very inauspicious for the Kaurawas, while it was most auspicious for the Pāṇḍawas. The statements were considered as interpolations. But we see now that the statements are correct. The Pāṇḍawa army started after the two eclipses (13 day पक्ष = क्षय पक्ष bad omens) were over.

Now, let me turn to the problem of the exact number of days that Bhīṣma was lying on the arrow-bed. This problem would not have been difficult to solve, if the 'Tithi' on which Bhīṣma left this mortal body was known definitely. For the difference between the 'Tithi' on which Bhīṣma lay on the arrow-bed and 'Tithi' on his 'प्रयाणकाल' is clearly the number of days for which Bhīṣma was on the arrow-bed.

There are four references which give the 'Tithi' of the departure.

(1) माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तः मासः सौम्यः युधिष्ठिर ।
त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोऽयं शुक्लो भवितुं अर्हति ॥

(2) शुक्लपक्षस्य अष्टम्यां माघमासस्य पार्थिव ।
प्राजापत्ये च नक्षत्रे मध्यं प्राप्ते दिवाकरे ॥

(3) अर्जुनेन हतो भीष्मः माघमासे सिताष्टमी ।

(4) 'Māgha Śukla 8th' is traditionally observed as the day of his departure.

In the 3rd. reference there is the possibility of the interpretation 'अस्ताष्टमी' meaning the dark half.

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I have already proved without ambiguity that the 'Tithi' on which the war started was 'Mārgaśīrṣa Śuklā 13th' and the 'Nakṣatra' was 'Mṛga.' The day on which Bhīṣma was defeated was the 10th, day of the war.

दशमेऽहनि राजेन्द्र भीष्माजुनसमागमे । न तस्यासीत् अनिभिन्नं गात्रे द्वयंगुलं
अंतरम् । किञ्चित् शेषे दिनकरे प्राक्शिरः प्रापतत् रथान् । धरणीं न स पस्पर्शं शरसंघैः
समावृतः । पतन् स ददृशे चापि दक्षिणेन दिवाकरं । धारयामास च प्राणान्
पतितोपि महीतले । जपन् महोपनिषदं योगं आस्थाय वीर्यवान् । उत्तरायणं
अन्विच्छन् भीष्मः कुरुपितामहः ॥

The 'Tithi' on the day of the fall must therefore be 'Mārgaśīrṣa Vadya 7th' by the 'अमांत' method, or 'Pauṣa Vadya 7th' by the 'पौर्णिमांत' method.

The difference between 'Mārgaśīrṣa Vadya 7th' and 'Māgha Śuklā 8th' is 45 days only. It might be thought that the solution of the problem was easy. But that is not the case. Because 'Bhīṣma' is telling himself that it was अयं शुक्लः पक्षः । त्रिभागशेषः माघः मासः । (In the पौर्णिमांत method शुक्ल अष्टमी means that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the month is over), and still he says 'अष्टपञ्चाशतं रात्रयः शयानस्य अद्य मे गताः' to Yudhiṣṭhira who had come to Kurukṣetra, because he was asked to return there on that day. This statement of 58 days has started the puzzle.

In order to bridge over the difficulty, Nilakanṭha the commentator on the *Mahābhārata*, proposes in his commentary on the M. 6. 17. 1, that 'असिताष्टमी' should be taken as the day of departure of Bhīṣma, because 15 days get added to the 45 days and the total number of days amount to 60. But instead of getting out of the difficulty the problem became more complicated. For in Śānti, 51. 14, Kṛṣṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira and others have gone to Bhīṣma after the formal coronation ceremony was over. Then Bhīṣma was requested by Kṛṣṇa to instruct Yudhiṣṭhira of the duties of a ruler. Bhīṣma first complained and said that as his limbs were aching he would not be able to speak. But Kṛṣṇa insisted that he was the proper authority and there would be no more limb aching. पञ्चाशतं षट् च कुरुप्रवीर शेषं दिनानां त्वं जीवितं च । व्यावर्तमाने तु सूर्ये

उदीचीम् ॥ 56 days still remain for your departure from this world. For, the sun will turn north then.

“ Nilakanṭha could not reconcile this verse by taking 56 to be the meaning of ‘पंचाशत् षट्’ for he must count days up to the arrival of Kṛṣṇa to Bhīṣma, and then add 56 days. In the commentary on this verse he has counted the days up to the arrival of Kṛṣṇa to ‘Kurukṣetra.’ भीष्मस्य शरतल्प-शयनानंतरं षष्ठौ दिनानि युद्धं । ततो दुर्योधनाशौचं युयुत्सोः षोडश दिनानि । पंचविंशे सर्वेषां श्राद्धदानं, षड्विंशे पुरप्रवेशः । सप्तविंशे राज्याभिषेकः । अष्टाविंशे प्रकृतिसात्वन् आभ्युदायिकं दानं च । ऊनत्रिंशे भीष्मप्रत्यागमनम् । Thus on the 29th day, from the fall of Bhīṣma, Kṛṣṇa sees him at Kurukṣetra. As the total number of days of lying on the arrow-bed cannot be greater than 58, and since Kṛṣṇa has come on the 29th day, the remaining days amount to 30 only. He gets the meaning of 30 from the expression पंचाशत् षट् च as पंच षट् च षट्वारं आवर्तिताः । षट् इति रीत्या त्रिंशत् five times six makes thirty.

By counting the days up to the arrival of Kṛṣṇa and showing it to be 28, Nilakanṭha has again added to his own confusion. For Śānti 1. 2. कृतोदकाः ते सर्वेषां न्यवसन् पांडुनदनाः । शौचं निर्वर्तयिष्यन्तः मासमात्रं बहिः पुरात् । tells clearly that the Pāṇḍawas remained outside the town for 30 days after they had finished the ‘उदक’ ceremony. The ‘उदक’ ceremony can take place only after the war was over. We know the ‘Tithi’ as well as, the ‘Nakṣatra’ on which the war ended. The ‘Nakṣatra’ was ‘Śrawaṇā,’ and the ‘Tithi’ was ‘Pauṣa Śukla 2nd.’ One month after this, means ‘Māgha Śukla 2nd.’ There are only 6 days for ‘Māgha Śukla 8th,’ and 21 days for ‘Māgha Vadya 8th.’

While commenting on the above verse, he has made matters still worse and more complicated. He writes गंगातीरे पुरात्⁶ बहिः मासमात्रस्य प्रयोजनं न तु अत्र शावाशौचशुद्धिः मासमात्रेण

⁶It is interesting to note that संजय came back to धृतराष्ट्र from कुरुक्षेत्र before noon, on the 19th day and told him “गुरुणां चानुपूर्वेण प्रेत-कार्याणि कारयेत् ।” धृतराष्ट्र started with the ladies. When they crossed a

इति विविक्षितं । शूद्रो मासेन शुद्धयति इति मनुवाक्यविरोधात् । संग्रामहृतानां पिंडाः सद्य एव शुद्धयति इति उक्तं मनुना । अतः द्वादशाहेन भूपतिः शुद्धयति एतत् वचनं अपि निरस्तं । सौप्तिके पशुवत् हृतानां अशौचं द्वादशाहं । He adds the 18 days of the war to the 12 days of 'अशौच' and gets the total of 30 days.⁷

But we know from his own quotation that 'Yuyutsu', 'being a son of 'Dhṛtarāṣṭra from a 'Vaiśyā' wife, is given 'अशौच' for 16 days after the war was over. Nilakanṭha has given a queer derivation even for अष्टपंचाशत् रात्रयः. It is as follows—अशतं शतहीनं यथा स्यात् तथा अष्टपंच । अष्टपंच अशत् रात्रयो व्यतीताः । विलोमशोधनात् अष्टपंचाशत् ऊनं शतं रात्रयः, द्वाचत्वारिंशत् इत्यर्थः । 100-58=42, (Vide comentary on M. 6. 17.1).

From this it becomes clear that Nilakanṭha has not given a solution of the problem, but he has added to the difficulties. The interpretations given by Nilakanṭha are completely erroneous. The following statement from the *Mahābhārata*, which was overlooked by Nilakanṭha, will prove conclusively that the whole line of approach was incorrect. सोभिषिक्तो महाप्राज्ञः प्राप्य राज्यं युधिष्ठिरः । उषित्वा शर्वरीः

distance of two miles they met कृप, अश्वत्थामा etc., who had killed the sons of द्रौपदी while asleep and were running away because they feared that the Pāṇḍawas would take revenge. युधिष्ठिर had sent नकुल to bring द्रौपदी etc. from उपप्लव्य, and she had arrived early in the morning. When युधिष्ठिर knew that धृतराष्ट्र started for the उत्तरक्रिया he went to meet him. Then all of them met at the Gaṅgā near हस्तिनापुर and performed the उदक ceremony. Here all of them stayed outside the town for one month. When नीलकण्ठ includes the 18 days of war for getting the total 30, he has forgotten that the Pāṇḍawas were outside हस्तिनापुर for 13 years. They had come to the outskirts of हस्तिनापुर first on the 19th day of the war.

⁷ It is interesting to note that 30 days of Aśauca on the banks of the Gaṅgā after the end of the Kurū war need not be considered as an exception, which requires an explanation offered by Nilakanṭha in his commentary. For, *Mbh.* I. 126.29, पितृलोकं गतः पांडुः इतः सप्तदशेऽहनि and 127. 16, 32, रमणीये वनोद्देशे गंगातीरे समे शुभे । शिशियरे पांडवैः साधे नगरं द्वादशक्षपाः ॥ tell clearly that the Pāṇḍava children were brought to Hastināpura by the Rsis on the 17th day after the death of Pāṇḍu and they passed 12 more days on the bank of the Gaṅgā in mourning. This means a total Aśauca for one month.

श्रीमान् पंचाशत् नगरोत्तमे । सस्मार कौरवाग्र्यस्य समयं पुरुषर्षभः । दृष्ट्वा निवृत्तं आदित्यं प्रवृत्तं चोत्तरायणम् । आससाद कुरुक्षेत्रे ततः शान्तनवं नृपः ॥ (Anu, 167. 5. 3. 13.). The word 'पंचाशत्' will mean only 50, and nothing else. 'पंचाशत्' may be twisted to mean 'पंच अशत्' or 'पंच आशत्', but 'पंचाशत्', will never mean that. The Pāṇḍawas had gone to Kurukṣetra after the coronation. Then Bhīṣma began his instructions regarding the duties of a ruler, and they continued for 3 days. Then Vyāsa requested Bhīṣma to stop his lecturing as Yudhiṣṭhira had become calm and he must return to Hastināpur. Bhīṣma said प्रविशस्व पुरीं राजन् व्येते ते मानसो ज्वरः । आगतव्यं च भवता समये मम पार्थिव । विनिवृत्ते दिनकरे प्रवृत्ते च उत्तरायणे । तथेत्युक्त्वा च कौंतेयः प्रययौ नागसाह्वयम् । (Anu. 166. 3-17). This shows that Yudhiṣṭhira had gone back to Hastināpur with the consent of Bhīṣma and with a promise to return on the day of the northward shift of the sun.

We know that when Kṛṣṇa requested Bhīṣma to instruct Yudhiṣṭhira in 'राजधर्म' Kṛṣṇa told Bhīṣma that there were yet 56 days for the northward shift of the sun. This tallies with the stay of 50 nights at Hastināpur of Yudhiṣṭhira, and the halt at Kurukṣetra for 3 to 6 days to hear the instructions from Bhīṣma. Further we can also account for the 58 days of 'शरशय्या' lying on the arrow-bed, as mentioned by Bhīṣma.

This shows clearly that Yudhiṣṭhira was late by two days. Because Kṛṣṇa had already told him that the sun would shift northwards after 56 days. Bhīṣma being on the arrow-bed, naturally felt this delay of two days as if it was a hundred years. Thus it will be seen that we are not required to twist the meanings of the expressions पंचाशत् षट् च अष्ट पंचाशत् रात्रयः मासमात्रं बहिः पुरात् and others.

Now, we shall turn to 'Māgha Śukla 8th.' 'माघ असिताष्टमी' can be ruled out for the following reasons. The 'Nakṣatra' on the day of the passing away of Bhīṣma was 'Prājāpātya' which means 'Rohiṇi.' On 'Māgha Vadya 8th'

the 'Nakṣatra' is 'Jyeṣṭhā' and never 'Rohiṇī.' The evidence of the *Gītā* is also against the 'Vadya Pakṣa.' For the *Gītā*, VIII says that death in the dark half of a month means 'Kṛṣṇa-gati.' If Bhīṣma could hold his 'Prāṇa' in order to avoid 'Dakṣiṇāyana,' he could certainly have waited for a week more to get the 'Śukla Pakṣa.'

Thus on 'Māgha Śukla 8th,' Bhīṣma passed away. The Indian almanac (पंचांग) will also show that the 'Rohiṇī Nakṣatra' coincides with 'Māgha Śukla 8th.' This shows that 'Mārgaśīrṣa Vadya 7th' is unalterable and 'Māgha Śukla 8th' is also certain. If both these 'tithis' cannot be altered, it might be thought, that it is impossible to increase the number of days between the two. The difference between them will always be 45 days. But it is not so. For as there are 'अधिक' months, we can increase the number of days by 30, 60 and so on without changing the 'tithis.' Thus the number of days for which Bhīṣma was on the arrow-bed will be either 45 or 75 or 105, without altering the 'tithi' namely 'Māgha Śukla 8th.' It means that either one intercalary month was added, or two months were added. The value 75 can be easily discarded. For we know from the two statements 'मासमात्रं बहिः पुरात्' and 'पंचाशत् शर्वरीः नगरोत्तमे'। ($30 + 50 = 80$) that Bhīṣma was on the arrow-bed for more than 80 days.

Now, if we are able to show that Bhīṣma was on the arrow-bed for 105 days, it means that two intercalary (अधिक) months must have been added in that year.

The following is the sequence of the main events which took place, after the death of Duryodhana on the 18th day of the war up to the time of the one month's stay of the Pāṇḍawas outside Hastināpura.

(a) Aśwatthāmā kills Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Yudhamanyu, Śikhaṇḍī, the five sons of Draupadī and others in the night, while they were sleeping in their camps. He ran away

with his confederates Kṛpa and Kṛtawarmā, for he feared that the Pāṇḍawas would catch him if they knew that he had killed the young boys. (b) Yudhiṣṭhira got the news from the chariot driver of Dhṛṣṭadyumna, who had escaped from the slaughter, early before the dawn. (Saup. 10). (c) Yudhiṣṭhira sent Nakula to bring Draupadī, who was at Upaplavya. (Sauptika, 11. 6.). (d) Sañjaya could not go to Hastināpura in the night of the 18th day as usual, because he was wounded on that day. So he left the battle field the next morning and reached Hastinapur by the noon. (Śalya 1. 14 25.) (e) Sañjaya asks Dhṛtarāṣṭra to do the funeral rites. (Strī. 1.8). (f) Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the ladies left for Kurukṣetra. (Strī, 10. 6. 16.) (g) When the party had crossed a distance of two miles they met Aśwatthama and others, who were running away. (Strī, 11. 1.). (h) The Pāṇḍawas left Kurukṣetra to meet Dhṛtarāṣṭra, when they learnt that Dhṛtarāṣṭra started for Kurukṣetra. They met Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the river Gaṅgā two miles from Hastināpura (Strī. 12. 6. ते गंगां अनुवृन्दानि क्रोशन् स्त्रीणां ददर्श ह (i) The party did not return to Kurukṣetra and the women did not weep actually over the bodies of their beloveds, as is commonly supposed. Because, Strī, 16. 3, 4, clearly tells 'दिव्यज्ञानबलोपेताः विविधं पर्यदेवयत् । ददृशुः दूरात् अपि यथांतिके ॥ (j) The 'उदक' ceremony was performed on the banks of the Gaṅgā." ते समासाध तु गंगां तु शिवां पुण्यजलोचिताम् । उदकं चक्रिरे सर्वा रुदत्यो भृश दुःखिताः ॥ (Strī. 27, 1, 3.). (k) The party stayed there for one month. (Śānti, 1, 1, 2.).

From Śānti, 1.15, "किन्तु वक्ष्यति वार्ष्णेयी वधूः मे मधुसूदनम् । द्वारकावासिनी कृष्ण इतः प्रतिगतं हरिम् । we know that Kṛṣṇa had gone back to Dwārakā with Subhadrā.

Again from Śānti, 37.4, धर्मचर्या च राज्यं च नित्यमेव विरुद्ध्यते । एवं मुह्यति मे चेतः चित्तमानस्य नित्यशः ॥

व्यासः—'श्रोतुं इच्छसि धर्मं चेत् निखिलेन नराधिप । प्रैहि भीष्मं महाबाहो वृद्धं कुरुपितामहं ॥ युधिष्ठिरः—'धातयित्वा तमेवाजो हलेन अजिह्य योधिनं । उपसंस्पृष्टुं अहमि तमहं केन हेतुना ॥

कृष्णः—नेदानीं अति निर्वधं शोकं त्वं कर्तुमर्हसि। यदाहं भगवान् व्यासः तत्कुरुष्व नृपोत्तम। चातुर्वर्ण्यं महाराज राष्ट्रं ते कुरु जांगलं। कुरु प्रियं अमित्रघ्न लोकस्य च हितं कुरु। it will be seen from this quotation that Kṛṣṇa has come back and he is asking Yudhiṣṭhira not to keep on weeping longer than a justified limit. Yudhiṣṭhira was feeling a bit ashamed⁸ to approach Bhīṣma, who was lying on the death bed while fighting with Yudhiṣṭhira himself.

Śānti 37, 32 tells that Yudhiṣṭhira entered the town in a new chariot to which 16 bullocks were yoked. Śānti 39, tells that Brahmins uttered 'पुण्याहघोष' when Yudhiṣṭhira entered the palace. There was a slight incident which marred the celebrations for a short time. There was a man called 'चार्वाक' who was a friend of Duryodhana. He mixed among the Brāhmaṇas who were uttering the blessings (आशीर्वचन). He said " धिक् भवंतं कुनृपतिं ज्ञातिघातिनं अस्तु वै। घातयित्वा गुरुन् चैव मृतं श्रेयः न जीवितम्॥" of course the Brāhmaṇas dragged this man and he was driven out.

Śānti 40, tells that Yudhiṣṭhira was crowned by Kṛṣṇa अभ्यषिचत् पतिं पृथ्व्याः दाशार्हः तु युधिष्ठिरं। पांचजन्याभिषिक्तः च राजा अमृतमुखोभवत्। Śānti 42, tells that Yudhiṣṭhira performed the 'Śrāddha'.

ततो युधिष्ठिरो राजा ज्ञातीनां ये हतायुधि।

श्राद्धानि कारयामास तेषां पृथक् उदारधीः।

Śānti 46. 30-32, tell that Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira started for Kurukṣetra to meet Bhīṣma. Kṛṣṇa after reaching

⁸ We get a very interesting verification for the statement that Yudhiṣṭhira was feeling shy to approach Bhīṣma, from the following reference to it in Śānti. 35. Bhīṣma says, "Let Yudhiṣṭhira ask me now any question." Kṛṣṇa says, "The King Yudhiṣṭhira feels ashamed to approach you. He thinks that you would curse him if he approached." Bhīṣma says, "Just as it is the duty धर्म of a Brahmin to practice 'tapas,' to study and to acquire knowledge, similarly it is the duty of a Kṣatriya to kill the bodies in a battle. It does not matter whether the bodies belong to the brothers, fathers, grandfathers, relatives or even the revered teachers: As the battle is for chastising the wrong-doers, it is the duty of a Kṣatriya to kill them."

Bhīṣma tells him that there were still 56 days for the sun to shift northwards.

This the total number of days is $39 + x + 56$. But we know that the total must be equal to 105 only. The value of x must be therefore 10 days. The coronation, the śrāddhas of course required this ten days interval.

This addition of 60 days is apparently contradictory to the present day practice of adding one lunar month only to make up the difference between the solar and the lunar year. But at the time of the Kuru war, two months (द्वौ मासौ = ऋतु) were added at once, after every five years, to make up the difference. The late Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya has proved the same thing on page 610, of his “भारताचा उपसंहार.”

From astronomy it can be proved that in the year 3018 B. C. the difference between ‘Mārgaśīrṣa Vadya 7th’ and the date of the northward shift of the sun was 105 days. In the year 2448 B. C. the same difference was 96 days, while in 2060 B. C. the difference was 88 days.

But as we know that Bhīṣma was on the arrow-bed for 105 days, this gives an additional confirmation to the statement that the war took place before 3000 B.C.

My astronomer friend, Mr. M. Raja Rao, has given the above calculation and pointed out some minor errors regarding the calculations of the dates of the eclipse given in my article, “*The exact date of the Kuru war*,” published in the November issue of the year 1945. He has worked out a calendar for the correct year of the war in 3018 B. C., from the day of the departure of Kṛṣṇa for the negotiations up to the passing away of Bhīṣma on Māgha Śukla 8th. I acknowledge the errors and I thank Mr. M. Raja Rao for sending me the corrected calendar of the events, which I am reproducing below from his letter.

| No. | Year 3018 B.C. Event. | Calender of events Vaiśākha date 1st, of Vaiśākha śukla. | Amānta lunar date. | Nākṣatra. |
|-----|--|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Kṛṣṇa leaves Upa- plavya for the negotiations. | 162. | Āświna 15th. | Revatī. |
| 2. | Duryodhana army starts. | 170. | Āświna 22nd. | Puṣya. |
| 3. | Dipāwali, new moon. | 179. | Āświna 30th. | Citrā. |
| 4. | Kārtika full moon. | 192. | Kārtika Paur- ṇimā. | Kṛttikā. |
| 5. | Bal ar ā m a and Pāṇḍava army starts. | 198. | Kārtika 21st. | Puṣya. |
| 6. | Battle begins ... | 221. | Mārgaśīrṣa 14th. | Mṛga. |
| 7. | Bhīṣma falls ... | 230. | Mārgaśīrṣa 23rd. | Citrā. |
| 8. | Gadā-Yudha. (Mace fight). | 239. | Pauṣa (Adhika) 2nd. | Śravaṇā. |
| 9. | Formal coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira. | 277. | Pauṣa (Nija) Māgha (Adhika) | Punarvasu. |
| 10. | Visit to Bhīṣma. | 279. | ... | ... |
| 11. | Nirvāṇa of Bhīṣma. | 335. | Māgha (Nija) śukla 8th. | Rohiṇī. (Prājāpatya.) |

The sun shifted northwards on the 17th, January, 3017 B. C. which is the 335th, day of the year. As Bhīṣma fell on 230th day, the days on the arrow bed are 105, which is already proved in the above article.

The date of the war which was given as 5th December 3016 B. C., is clearly wrong. The two eclipses occurred on 31st. August and 13th. September respectively.

I had given the dates of the eclipses to be 29th. October and 11th, November. They would be found to differ from the corrected dates by 60 days. I have already proved that two months (60 days) were being added every 5th year, at the time of the Kuru war to make up the difference between the Solar year and the Lunar year. The year of the war was the last year of the five year period, and 60 days were added at the end of this year. Therefore, Pauṣa and Māgha were the two Adhika (added) months for the year.

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF ARCHAEOLOGY¹

By B. B. LAL

The aim of Archaeology

ARCHAEOLOGY is a science of critical appreciation and of reconstruction. Its object is to trace out the whole history of man since his first appearance till almost modern times on the basis of the remains he has left. The duty of an archaeologist, therefore, is not simply to uncover structures and to collect beads, pottery and ornaments but to reconstruct the history of the place through all its stages. Walls are dumb and so are other articles. These objects by themselves are not more important than the conditions in which they have been found. It is not enough to know that the articles are X, Y and Z. It must be learnt without ambiguity that they are X/Y/Z² and are neither Z/Y/X nor Z/X/Y nor Y/Z/X nor Y/X/Z nor X/Z/Y. What we actually want is the inter-relation of the finds. And this is best possible through "stratification," which is the keynote of modern excavation.

Stratum or layer

Stratification is nothing but the ascertainment of the relationship of one stratum with another. A stratum or, more familiarly, a layer, is a deposit of earth, or mud or stones or bricks or of all of them, which has been laid down at a time, and the top of which represents the surface.

¹ It is proposed to present in this article some of the methods of field archaeology brought to India by Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the present Director General of Archaeology in India.

² X/Y/Z represents that X is later than Y and Y is later than Z.

of the ground at that particular period. This change of layer is discernible through changes in the soil as we dig down.¹

The method: Its origin.

Formerly depth was the basis of sequence dating and walls served as the basis of a stratum. But the modern method took its clue from geology, and may be illustrated by an example from the geology of Sweden. There the succession of banded clays has been recognized as representing successive deposits left by retreating ice every summer, and illustrate in the clearest form the principle of chronological sequence represented by the superimposition of one deposit over the other. In the figure given below (fig. 1) an object in band 1 was

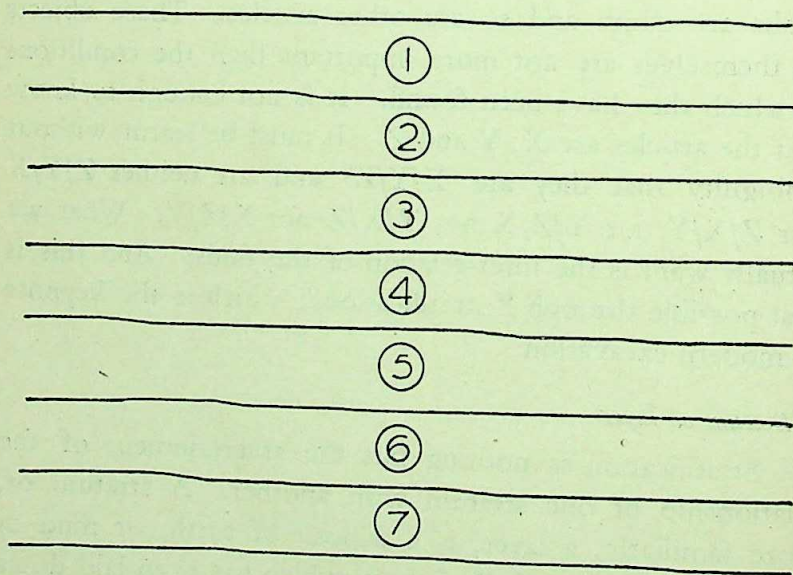


Fig. 1.—Clay bands

definitely deposited later than one in 2; an object in 6 was deposited earlier than one in 5, and so on.

¹ But a change of soil does not always represent a change in stratum, for one stratum may also consist of more than one soil.

Layers take varied shapes

But if layers were as horizontal as these, there would have been no trouble at all and even the former method of recording an object simply by its depth would have been satisfactory. In actual practice layers are found to be more illusive and they take all sorts of curves and shapes.

The following illustration (fig. 2) would explain the essential spirit behind the new method.

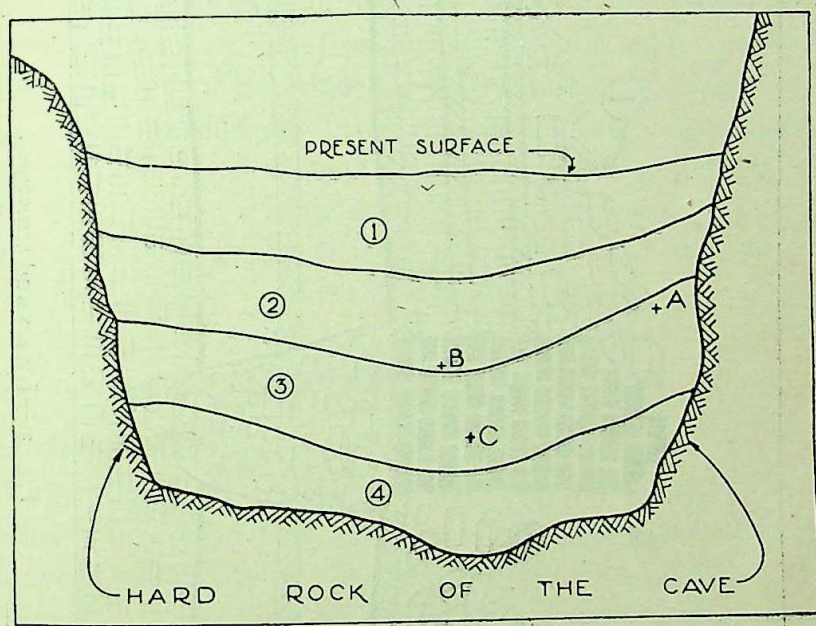


Fig. 2.—Section inside a cave

The original bottom of this cave is undulating and has a depression in the middle. The people who dwelt in it did not bother themselves about the floor, and the result was that all the deposits that came afterwards conformed more or less to the original depression. Three objects A, B and C have been discovered (cf. their positions in the figure) respectively at depths of 4 ft., 5 ft. 6 ins. and 7 ft. below the present surface. But their chronological sequence

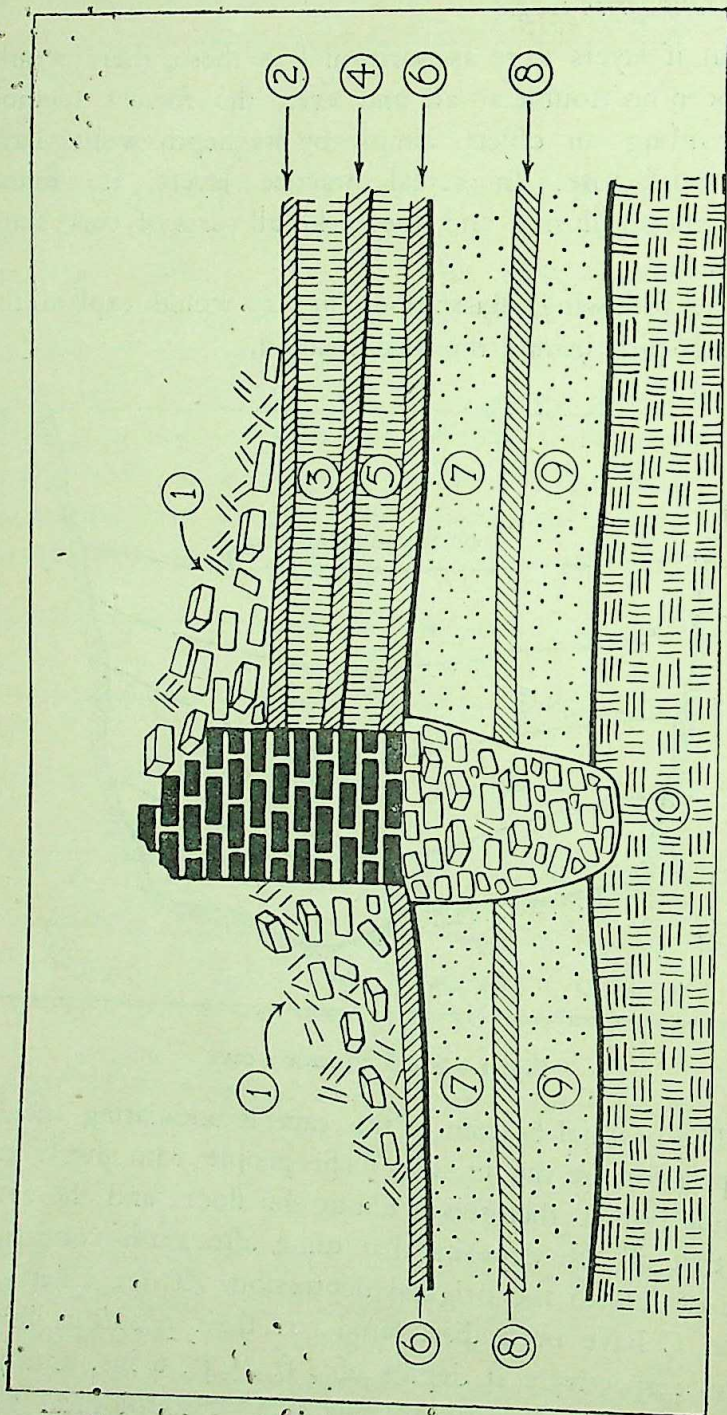


Fig. 3.—Layers and structures

ence is not A/B/C. It is B/A/C. It is clear without doubt from the section that object B was laid down later than both A and C and is, therefore, later in point of time than both.

Layers and their relation with structures

Besides ascertaining the inter-relation of these layers we have also to find out their relation with the houses and structures to which they run.

In fig. 3, layer 10 is the natural hard earth. Layers 9, 8 and 7 have been cut through for the foundation-trench of the wall, and are therefore earlier than the wall. Layer 6 is the first one to run up to the wall and therefore came into existence immediately after the wall was constructed. Layers 5, 4, 3 and 2 came successively in the life-time of the wall. Layer 1 represents the fall of the wall. Now if we can date an object in layer 7 and another in layer 6 we can very accurately fix the date of the wall.

Let us now see how this method of retaining vertical sections helps us in discovering the story of a site.

Reading the story

In Fig. 4 the date of the palace is known to us from coins and an inscribed slab attached to the palace-wall to be between A.D. 428-30. But we do not know whether the city-rampart was built by the builder of the palace itself or by his successor or predecessor.

The story revealed from the above stratification is this:—

Layer 8 is soft brown clay containing some potsherds etc., casually dropped by some passers-by; There is no sign of any occupation in this. Layer 7 has in its whole length so far excavated 11 hearths in groups of 3, 2, 1, 3, and 2 (marked as 'H' and a number of fragments of cooking-vessels, one pair of tongs, two fragments of a metal begging-bowl. But there are no signs of buildings, nor are there

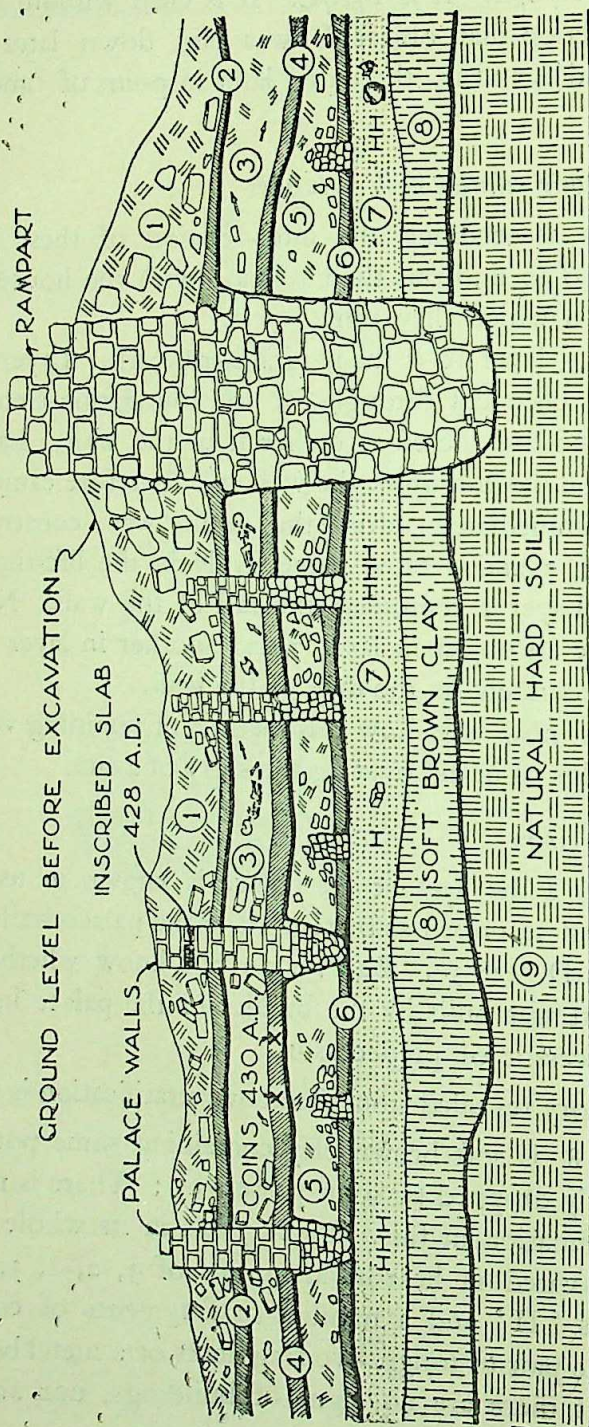


Fig. 4.—How story is gathered through stratification

any signs of post-holes indicative of timber-structures. The place was, therefore, at this time occasionally used by travellers and beggars who used to cook their food, pass the night here and then move on. There was no permanent habitation. Layer 6 is a black layer showing habitation. It runs to five stumps of walls. People started inhabiting the place, but the buildings were of ordinary stone-rubble and also did not have any foundation-trench. The obvious result was that the walls started giving way, and the débris is indicated by layer 5, which contains the same stones that were used for the walls.

But not long after came an improved phase of the city. The people rebuilt their houses, this time with *ashlar* masonry, and their chief man erected a huge building with thick walls carrying them down 4 feet below surface, reaching layer 6. An inscribed slab attached to one of the walls of the palace is dated A.D. 428, and the evidence is immediately corroborated by two coins, dated A.D. 430, found in the first occupation-layer running upto the palace walls.

Layer 3 represents a very important period in the history of the site. It had in the débris of the broken walls a number of arrow-heads, about a dozen spears, broken parts of a chariot, besides two skeletal remains. The skeletons had cuts of swords on them and were discovered in a dump. A cemetery discovered at a distance of 2 furlongs outside the city contains eight wounded skeletons, one of which has actually an arrow-head, exactly similar to those found in layer 3, still sticking to the left ribs. The cemetery contains pottery and beads exactly similar to those in layer 3. This confirms the fact that the city was actually invaded in this period and the inhabitants suffered much. It was, therefore, thought necessary that the king, in order to protect his people from further attacks, must construct a good defensive city-wall.

In the diagram, the rampart, 10 feet 8 inches wide, is made of huge blocks of stone; though it goes 7 feet deeper than the palace walls, yet it belongs to a later phase of the palace. It was but necessary to have very deep foundation-trench for a city-wall, and the people cut through layers 3 to 8 and were satisfied only when they struck against very hard soil—the natural.

The first layer that runs upto the city-wall, and is, therefore, its contemporary, is the same which represents the occupation-layer belonging to the second phase of the palace. And we are, therefore, quite sure that the city-wall is later than the palace and may be dated as belonging to *circa* A.D. 500.

False reading of the story

Fig. 5 shows how facts can be falsified by taking into account only the horizontal place of an object as a basis for determining a stratum.

People residing in the house represented by wall A cut through layer 8 for the foundation of the wall. Layer 7 and 5 were the successive occupation-levels, layer 6 being the material used for raising the floor. Layer 4 represents the fall of the house. Layer 3, a deposit nearly 6 feet thick, consists of drifted earth and at places of bands of clay, indicating that water used to accumulate during rains. This characteristic deposit points to the fact that the site was abandoned for a pretty long period.

Then came the people who constructed wall B. As the surface of the ground was uneven, they dumped clay and other material—layer 2—to raise and level up the ground. The level inside the house is about a foot higher than on the outside, and rightly too. The wall has a drain that carried water from inside the house and discharged it in a soak-pit some 12 feet deep (cf. the figure). The soak-pit contains a number of full and broken pots thrown into

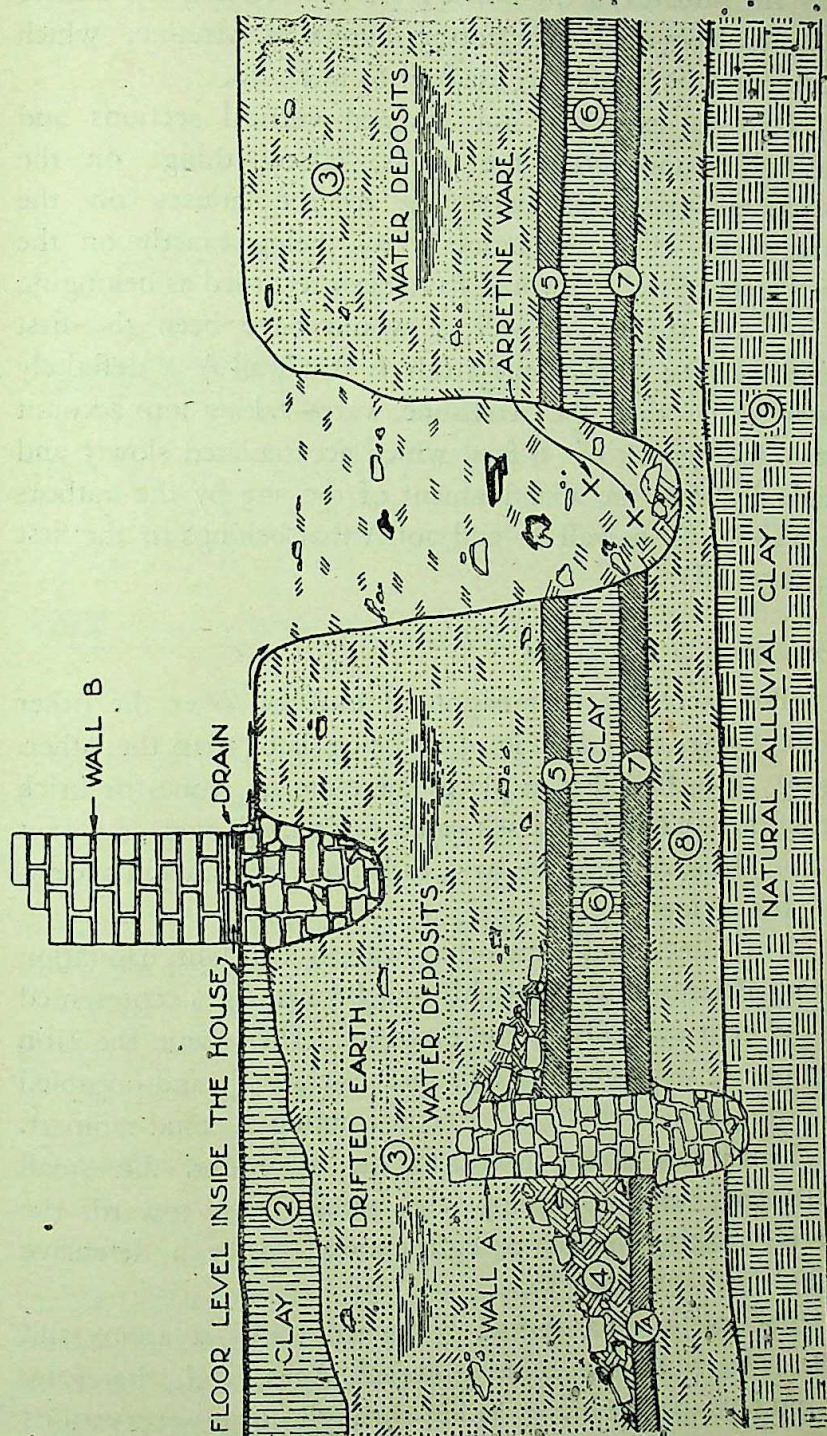


Fig. 5.—A soak-pit

it by the inmates of the house from time to time. Of these two are pieces of Roman pottery known as Arretine, which are accurately datable to 25 B.C. to A.D. 50.

Had the excavator not retained vertical sections and had only uncovered the walls, taking things on the horizontal planes as belonging to the houses on the same plane, these Arretine wares, being exactly on the floor level of wall A, would have been recorded as belonging to it. And the date of wall A would have been the first century A.D.; whereas the truth is that wall A is definitely much earlier than the Arretine ware—taking into account the thick deposit of 6 feet which accumulated slowly and gradually after the abandonment of the site by the authors of wall A. It is wall B and not A that belongs to the first century A.D.

The digging of a mud-site

But mere superimposition of one soil over the other is not always the criterion of its being later than the other. In fig. 6 we find that at places there are no stones or brick structures and it is the self-same earth used over and over again. In such cases we have to be very cautious in accepting the evidence.

The site under excavation was in constant habitation during Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Ages represented by different symbols in the diagram. Then came the Iron Age people who ousted the Bronze Age people and occupied the site. They thought of constructing a mud-rampart. To them it was doubly useful to dig all round the small settlements and to dump the same earth towards the interior making the dump high enough to be a defensive wall. And they did this.

The earth thus shifted contained tools, weapons and pottery from all the three previous Ages, and, therefore, the mud-rampart which was cut through during excavations

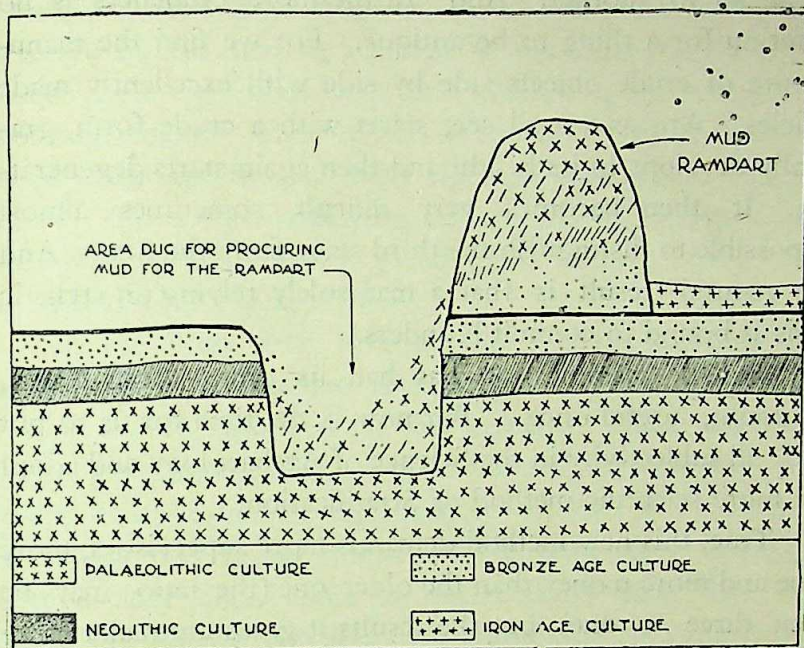


Fig. 6.—Section through a mud-rampart

represented Palaeolithic Age above Neolithic and Neolithic above Bronze Age—an order just the reverse of the actual. On the sides of the moat (resulting from the removal of the earth for the rampart) outside the rampart, all the three cultures lay higgledy-piggledy, been washed down the rampart itself by rains.

Thus we see that the excavator has to be very cautious, especially in cases where there are pits and mud-structures, or when the site has been churned up by brick-robbers.

Style and stratification

Of late scholars have shown a great fascination for stylistic basis in archaeological classification. And in many of our museums we find sculptures, beads, and especially terracottas classified solely according to style. But it must be borne in mind that the 'style' basis is always subjective. Whatever appears to one as crude and ugly may not appear

to be so to another. And furthermore crudeness is no criterion for a thing to be antique. For we find the manufacture of crude objects side by side with excellently made articles. Art, as we all see, starts with a crude form, gradually develops to its height and then again starts degenerating. It then becomes very difficult, sometimes almost impossible to distinguish the third stage from the first. And the natural result is that a man solely relying on stylistic basis is bound to commit blunders.

Stylistic classification has had its time. And it was, no doubt, useful once. But now is the time for us to put aside all subjectivity in the Science of Archaeology and adopt the more scientific method of Stratification.

True, this new method demands more supervisors, more time and more money than the older one (the ratio may be even three to one) but the results it gives are really more than a compensation for all that.

Future of archaeology in India

Moreover, the future may have still greater things in store for us. The war is now over, and our archaeologists will again have an easy contact with international science. Being relieved from carrying bombs, aeroplanes may be placed at the disposal of our archaeologists also, for use in exploration. A photograph from the air sometimes gives better information than observation on the ground. For the exploration of barren tracts, aeroplanes have immense possibilities. Mounds, ditches and soil-differences often come out more distinctly in aerial photographs than in ground-observation, and thus in a shorter time and perhaps at less cost wider areas can be explored.

Aerial photographs are specially useful in gathering the lay-out of a site now covered with crops, where patches and variations due to underlying streets assume a new significance when seen in relationship to one another from

a height. Growth of crops on the line of structures would naturally be less than on the rest of the area, and on areas where there were once wells and ditches crops would be more luxuriant. Then again difference in the colour of crops about the time of their ripening would also indicate much. Crops with structures underneath would ripen and turn yellow earlier and this difference clearly comes out in an aerial photograph.

In the West they have already started applying the method of pollen-analysis. People at the University of Cambridge are the pioneers in this respect. When analysed, pollen gives us the climatic conditions of the time and also an approximate idea of the antiquity of the soil and thus of the objects found therein. We hope that this new method may soon come to our country and that our University experts may give us a whole-hearted cooperation in this respect.

KAVI KANKANA*

By N. A. GORE

THE importance of Sanskrit Anthologies to a Historian of Sanskrit Literature cannot be overrated. Many are the poets who are known to us for the first time from citations in these anthologies. M. Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, (Madras, 1937) pp. 384-390^a records the names of about 80 anthologies. But about fifteen only of these are so far published.¹ As the information collected by M. Krishnamachariar is based on the published anthologies and the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. only, naturally he could not give details of contents or extent about most of these. But it would be a very good thing, indeed, if a research institute were to undertake the publication of critical editions of the anthology-literature. Perhaps it may be found to be impracticable or inadvisable to publish each and every anthology irrespective of its intrinsic value. In that case, the preparation of analysis of the contents and the author, verse, and topics, indexes of all these anthologies individually, must be taken up in hand²; and then in the next place must be compiled cumulative indexes of these several indexes, on the pattern of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht. They would be of immense value in tracing the sources or authors of stanzas which are often anonymously cited in works of Rhetorics and Commentaries,

*Paper read in the classical sanskrit section of the 13th session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur, in October 1946.

¹ For a list of these vide my Paper on "the Padyatarāṅgiṇī of Vrajanātha," *Poona Orientalist* XI. nos. 1-2 pp. 45 ff.

² I have so far prepared the Analyses and the Indexes of (1) the *Padyatarāṅgiṇī* of Vrajanātha, (Unpublished), Published in the *Poona Orientalist*, XI. 1-2. 45ff. (2) the *Sārasaṅgraha* of Maṇirāma, (Unpublished); and (3) the *Subhāṣitasarvasva* of Gopinātha, (also Unpublished).

and in preparing a literary history of each poet and fixing his date.

An attempt is made in this paper to put together whatever information is available about a poet named Kaṅkaṇa, who is first known to us from quotations of his verses in two Anthologies. In the *Saduktikar nāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, compiled in 1205 A.D., two stanzas of Kaṅkaṇa are given.³ In the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, probably belonging to the 15th c. A.D., another stanza of Kaṅkaṇa is quoted.⁴ Nine stanzas of Kavi Kaṅkaṇa are found cited in the *Rasa-ratnapradīpikā*⁵ of Allarāja, a work of Rhetorics composed in the 14th c. A.D.⁶ One stanza of Kavi-Kaṅkaṇa, describ-

- ³ (i) रे रेवातकेलिलम्पटवपुः शोकं वृथा मा कृथाः
कुम्भिन् कुम्भसमाहृतं पिब पयो वन्ध्यैव विन्ध्यस्मृतिः ।
ताभिः काननकुञ्जरीभिरभितो दैवेन दूरीकृतो
वेल्लत्पल्लवशल्लकीवनलता कुञ्जेषु ते विभ्रमः ॥ Sk. 4.4.3.1.

- (ii) वीणाक्वाणल्योल्लासि लोलदं गुलिपल्लवः ।
भारत्याः पातु भूतानि पाणिर्लसितकङ्कणः ॥ Sk. 1.71.1

- ⁴ (iii) कण्ठग्रहे शिथिलतां गमिते कथञ्चिद्
यो मन्यते मरणमेव सुखाभ्युपायम् ।
गच्छन् स एष न बलाद्विधूतो युवाभ्या-
मित्युज्झिते भुजलते वलयैरिवास्याः ॥ Sk. No. 1085.

⁵ Edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, *Bharatiya Vidyā Series* No. 8., Bombay 1945. "His (Kaṅkaṇa's) works *Mrgāṅkaśataka* and *Mano-valambikā* are known from DC. XX 8008."—Appendix I of RRP. But the *Mano-valambikā* is not mentioned at DC. XX. 8008; and it is a Kāvya about Caitanya doctrine by Mukundadāsa acc. to CC. 1. 429 and not by Kaṅkaṇa !

- ⁶ (i) अव्यक्तवर्णानि मनोहराणि निरर्थकानि क्षणविस्मृतानि ।
ध्रुवं शिशूनामसमञ्जसानि वचांसि हासं जनयन्ति पुंसाम् ॥
RRP. 2. 13 as an instance of हास.

- (ii) आकर्ष्य सङ्गरसहारणवचेष्टितानि गोष्ठीरसाहतजनस्य मनोविकारः ।
अङ्गे करोति पुलकं नयने विकाशं कान्तिं च कामपि मुखे स्फुरणं च बाह्वोः ।
RRP 2. 109 as an instance of उत्साह.

- (iii) आकर्ष्य गर्जितं घोरं जलदानां समागमे
बाला विधूतलज्जेव सत्रासं श्लिष्यति प्रियम् ॥ RRP. 4. 62 as an
instance of त्रास.

ing the season Hemanta is quoted in the *Padyaracanā*⁷ of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Āṅkolkar (1650-1675 A.D.). One more stanza of Kankaṇa Kavi is quoted in the *Kavīkaustubha*

- (iv) नायस्तासि महीभूता सुरतरोः काण्डेन नोत्पीडिता
नैवोच्चैःश्रवसः खुरेण कलिता नो वा विषेणादिता ।
पायाद्विश्वमिदं हरिः कुतुकिनीं लज्जावनम्राननां
लक्ष्मीमङ्गुगतां विधाय मधुरं कर्णोपकण्ठे वदन् ॥ RRP. 5. 19
to illustrate प्रथमसमागमे बालचित्तार्जनम् ।
- (v) अकरोत्तृणमिव जीवं पूर्वं जीमूतवाहनः कृपया ।
तृणमपि जीवं कुहते लोकः सत्त्वात्परिभ्रष्टः ॥ RRP. 5. 59 to illus-
trate दयावीर, a variety of वीररस.
- (vi) लीलापङ्कजमादधाति रुचिरे गम्भीरनाभ्यन्तरे
कस्तूरिद्रवचचितं वपुरपि श्यामीकरोत्यादरात् ।
ताटकं च करे करोति कुतुकाच्चक्रानुकारं तथा
लक्ष्मीः क्रीडति पीतवस्त्रकलिता स्मित्वां सखीनां पुरः ॥ RRP. 6. 4
as an instance of लीला.
- (vii) हित्वा नर्मकथां सखीविरचितां क्षिप्त्वा दृशं व्यायता-
मेणाक्ष्या सहसा विलुण्ठनपदं किञ्चित्पुरः सारितम् ।
उत्थायेक्षणपल्लवेन शनकंर्मा च स्पृशन्त्या तथा
किञ्चिद्विचित्रतदेहभङ्गसुभगं तन्व्या मयाग्रे स्थितम् ॥ RRP 6. 7 as an
instance of विलास.
- (viii) माल्यं स्कन्धविलम्बितं च निहितं केशे दृशोरञ्जनं
स्थूलप्रान्तं विनिमित्तं च हृदये हारस्तु तिर्यग्धृतः ।
कूर्पासस्य च वीटिकांगुलिमुखैर्नायोजिता यद्यपि
प्रायोऽस्यास्तदपि स्फुरत्यभिनवा शोभैव लोकोत्तरा ॥ RRP. 6. 9. as
an instance of विचित्रि.
- (ix) आकुञ्च्याग्रं नखविलिखने पश्यति भ्रूविभङ्ग्या
गाढाश्लेषे वदति च ह हा मुञ्च मुञ्चेति वाचम् ।
केशाकृष्टावरणनयना ताडने साश्रुनेत्रा
नानाभावं श्रयति तरुणी नाटके मन्मथस्य ॥ RRP 6. 17. as an in-
stance of कुट्टमितम्.

⁷ Published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1908. The stanza is लज्जा प्रौढमृगोदृशामिव नवस्त्रीणां रतेच्छा इव
स्वैरिण्यां नियमा इव स्मितरुचः कुल्याङ्गनानामिव ।

दम्पत्योः कलहा इव प्रणयिता वाराङ्गनानामिव

प्रादुर्भूय तिरोभवन्ति सहसा हैमन्तिका वासराः ॥ पद्यरचना १२.१३.

For the date of the *Padyaracanā*, vide Prof. P. K. Gode's paper "The date of the *Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Āṅkolkar Between A.D. 1625 and 1650" *Jou of Ori. Res., Madras*, Vol. 14 (1941).

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(1675—1700 A.D.) of Raghunātha Manohara,⁸ which is being edited by the writer of the present paper for the *Bhāratīyā Vidyā Bhavana*, Bombay. In his Introduction (p. 14) to the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, Dr. Peterson notes that a stanza of Kavi Kaṅkaṇa is quoted in Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's *Sārasamuccaya*,⁹ a compilation of the *Commentaries* on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammāṭa. If M. Krishnamachariar's information is correct, Ratnakaṇṭha belonged to the 17th c. A.D. Thus we find that Kaṅkaṇa's verses are quoted from the first decade of the 13th c. A.D. to the last quarter of the 17th c. A.D. and as such we may tentatively fix 1150 A.D. as the lower limit of Kavi Kaṅkaṇa. If Peterson's suggestion¹⁰ that Kaṅkaṇa may be identical with Kaṅkaṇavarṣa mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* (1149-1150 A.D.) is supported by indubitable evidence, Kaṅkaṇa may have to be assigned to a much earlier period.

It should be noted that the name of Kaṅkaṇa occurs in three different forms: Kaṅkaṇa,¹¹ Kavi Kaṅkaṇa¹² and Kaṅkaṇa Kavi.¹³ Unless evidence to the contrary is forthcoming it may be presumed that these three forms are but the variations of the name of one and the same person. As for Kaṅkaṇa being the same as Kaṅkaṇavarṣa, no more

⁸ कङ्कणकवेर्भाविपञ्चाशिकायाम्—

सिन्धुसूनुपतेर्मित्रं तस्यायुधपतिश्च यः ।

तस्य कन्यासखीस्वच्छं भाति ते कीर्तिमण्डलम् ॥ *Kavikaustubha* as an instance of स्वसङ्केतप्रवृत्तार्थदोष.

⁹ लीलापङ्कजमावधाति etc. See note 6 (vi) above.

¹⁰ "He [i.e. Kaṅkaṇa] may be the Kaṅkaṇavarṣa from whom the city Kaṅkaṇa took its name. भर्तुः कङ्कणवर्षस्य पुण्योत्कर्षाभिवृद्धये ।

चकार कङ्कणपुरं रमणी स्वर्णवर्षिणी ॥

Rajat. VI. 301. p. 14 Intro. to *Subhāṣitāvalī*.

¹¹ In the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, the *Saduktikar-nāmā*, and C.C. II. 15 as the author of the मृगाङ्कशतक.

¹² In the RRP; as the author of the मृगाङ्कशतक and the काश्य-लहरीस्तव.

¹³ In the *Kavi-Kaustubha*.

information is available than the surmise of Peterson, referred to above.

As for the works of Kavi Kaṅkaṇa, we have to note that the *Kavi-Kaustubha* mentions *Bhāvapañcāśikā* as the work of Kaṅkaṇa Kavi. We do not know the names of works from which verses are cited in the *Subhāṣitāvali*, the *Saduketikar nāmṛta*, the *Sārasamuccaya* and the *Rasaratnapradīpikā*. Though the *Catalogus Catalogorum* records no Ms. of the *Bhāvapañcāśikā* of Kaṅkaṇa, the existence of two short works of Kaṅkaṇa is attested to by Mss. recorded in the *Catalogus Catalogorum viz.*, the *Mrgāṅkaśatakakāvya*¹⁴ and the *Kārunyalaharī-stava*.¹⁵

According to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss.* in the *Government Oriental Library, Madras*, Vol. 20, p. 8008, the *Mrgāṅkaśataka-Kāvya* is "a short poem in praise of the moon who is considered to inspire sentiment of love into the hearts of people." But the few stanzas quoted in the *Descriptive Catalogues of Mss.* in Madras, Tanjore, Kashmir and at the India Office, London, are all in praise of, or refer to the dark spot on the moon fancied as the deer (*mrgāṅka*) and not to the moon in general. The *Kārunyalaharī-stava* is also a short poem in about a hundred stanzas. It is preserved in a single Ms. described in the Vol. X (No. 4025) of the *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* by Haraprasad Shastri. From the few stanzas quoted therein, this work appears to be in praise of some particular form of goddess Pārvatī, for the references to the deity in the vocative case point

¹⁴ The Mss. of the मृगाङ्कशतक—(i) Govt. Or. Libr. Madras 71. [= *Des. Cat. of Mss.* in the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, Vol. XX. p. 8008], (ii) Stein 71 [This Ms. is dated-Vikrama Samvata 1941 = 1884 A.D.]—CC. II (iii) IO. 2538 No. 3942 [this Ms. is dated-1781 A.D.]—CC. III; (iii) 100. (iv) *Des. Cat. of Sk. Mss.* in the TMSSM Library, Tangore, Vol. VII. No. 3962.

¹⁵ The Ms. of the कारुण्यलहरीस्तव—(i) L 4025—CC. II. 19 [= *Notices of SK. Mss.* by Haraprasad Shastri, Calcutta 1892, Vol. X No. 4025].

out to a goddess (cf. शिवे and अपारव्याहारे) and the colophon also clearly shows that the poet was a devotee of goddess Pārvatī (cf. शङ्करीचरणकिङ्करीभवता कविकङ्कणेन कृतः कारुण्यलहरीस्तवः). The reference to the subject matter of the work in the *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, Vol. X shows it to be a description of the form, qualities, greatness, etc. of the Bhagavati in the form of a hymn (विषयः—स्तोत्रव्याजेन भगवत्याः रूपगुणमाहात्म्यादिवर्णनम् ।) But in contradiction to this, in English it is said that the work is “a hymn to Dakṣiṇāmūrti” (i.e., a form of god Śiva): But for an accurate and detailed information about the contents of these two works we must wait until the manuscripts are actually examined. An estimate of Kavi Kaṅkaṇa as a poet also must be deferred till we study these works. But meanwhile I add here an index of the stanzas ascribed to Kavi Kaṅkaṇa and those quoted from the two works of his in the *Descriptive Catalogues of Mss.*, for ready reference.

Index of the first quarters of the stanzas of Kavi Kaṅkaṇa known from the *Descriptive Catalogues* and Printed works.

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. अकरोत्तृणमिव जीवं | RRP. V. 59. |
| 2. अङ्गे कलङ्कवम्भात् | MS. 5. |
| 3. अपारव्याहारे तव रुचिरकारुण्यलहरीं | KLS. 100. |
| 4. अव्यक्तवर्णानि मनोहराणि | RRP. II. 13. |
| 5. आकर्ण्य गर्जितं घोरं | RRP. IV 62. |
| 6. आकर्ण्य सङ्गरमहार्णवचेष्टितानि | RRP. II. 19. |
| 7. आकुञ्च्याग्रं नखविलिखने पश्यति भ्रूविभङ्गचा | RRP. VI 17. |
| 8. इति कविकङ्कणभणितं | MS. 101. |
| 9. इति शतकमनन्तब्रह्मविद्यास्तवस्य | KLS. 101. |
| 10. ओषधिपतिरङ्कुमिषात् | MS. 7. |
| 11. कण्ठग्रहे शिथिलतां गमिते कथञ्चित् | Sbv. 1085. |
| 12. जेतुं त्रिभुवनमखिलं | MS. 1. |
| 13. तदव्यादेन्दव्या विमलकलधौतद्युति महः | KLS. 1. |
| 14. तुहिन कलङ्क केशव | MS. 99. |

15. नायस्तासि महीभृता सुरतरोः काण्डेन RRP: V. 19.
नोत्पीडिता
16. माल्यं स्कन्धविलम्बितं च निहितं केशे RRP. VI 9.
दूशोरञ्जनं
17. रजनीशरजतभाजनं MS. 3.
18. रे रेवातटकेलिलम्पटवपुः शोकं वृथा मा Sk. IV. 43.1 p. 255.
कृथाः
19. लज्जा प्रौढमृगीदृशामिव नवस्त्रीणां Paḍyaraṇā p. 79.
रतेच्छा इव
20. लीलापङ्कजमादधाति रुचिरे गम्भीर- RRP. VI. 4;
नाभ्यन्तरे Sārasamuccaya.
21. विधु दधितण्डुलपिण्डं MS. 100.
22. वीणाक्वाणलयोत्लासिलोलदंगुलिपल्लवः SK. I. 71. I. p. 51.
23. शशिनि सुधामयसिन्धौ MS. 2.
24. शशिसम्पुटे कलङ्के MS. 6.
25. शिवे तत्तन्नानागम वैषम्यकलहां KLS. 2.
26. सिन्धुसूनुपतेमित्रं Kavikaustubha, 100.
27. हरदग्ध एव मदतः MS. 4.
28. हित्वा नमंकथां सखीविरचितां क्षिप्त्वा RRP. VI. 7.
दृशं व्यायतां

EARLIEST DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA FROM IRANICAN SOURCES

By M. V. KEBE.

ARDESIR I, the Founder of the Sassanian dynasty reigned in Iran from 211-221 A.D.¹ On his accession the Southern Western dialect of Palilavi, commonly known as Pārasika, began to be employed on coins, seals and lapidary inscriptions.²

Kālidāsa, in the conquest of Raghu, in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, mentions his having started on an invasion of Pārasika. The expression is unique in Sanskrit. Kālidāsa must have come across it on one of the coins of Iran circulated in this country. Therefore, his earliest date cannot be earlier than 211 A.D.

In a paper³ yet to be published, I have fixed his date in the Gupta Period. I held him to be a contemporary of Skand Gupta Vikramāditya.⁴ In the same paper, I had carried his reign to the 1st century B.C. But this piece of evidence is against that theory. This requires further investigation.

¹ *The Historian's History of the World*, Vol. VIII.

² Reading and Translation of Palilavi by Dr. J. M. Unvale, in a paper submitted to the 13th *All-India Oriental Conference*, Nagpur, 1946.

³ Further Light on the date of Kālidāsa to be published in *Dr. S. Commemoration Volume*, Lahore.

⁴ "Who was the Founder of the Vikrama Era"; *The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Institute*, Vol. I. Part 4, pages 417-423, 1944.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the General Council.

THE Annual General meeting of the General Council of the *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* took place at 5 p.m., on Thursday February 20, 1947 in the Balrampur Hall (Hindu Boarding House).

In the unavoidable absence of the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru the president, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Umesh Mishra proposed Prof. R. D. Ranade to take the chair. Being duly seconded Prof. Ranade occupied the chair and declared the meeting open.

The minutes of the last meeting held on February 15, 1946, were read by the Secretary and confirmed.

Thereafter, at the proposal of the Chairman a resolution of condolence on the sad demise of two of our revered members—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar was adopted unanimously, the members standing.

After this, the Secretary Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Umesh Mishra presented the following annual report for the year 1946-47 :—

(Secretary's Report printed at the end).

It was proposed and seconded that the report be adopted and the motion was unanimously carried.

On behalf of the treasurer, the Secretary presented the estimated budgets for the next year together with the audit report (printed at the end).

The report was adopted after being duly proposed and seconded and the Secretary was (2) asked to convey thanks to the Accountant General and Babu Dharmakishore and his assistants for the kindness they have shown in auditing

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the accounts of the Institute. The next item on the agenda was the appointment of an auditor for the next year.

The Secretary said : According to the rules we have to appoint an auditor for the year 1947-48. Last year we requested the Accountant General to get our accounts audited and he kindly acceded to our request and the accounts were audited accordingly. It was resolved that the same arrangements should be made for the next year also.

Thereupon, the Chairman requested Dr. Gorakh Prasad, D.Sc. F.R.A.S., of the Allahabad University to deliver his lecture on the Astronomy of *Vedāṅga Jyotiḥ* the full text of which is published in the next issue.

Prof. Ranade in his concluding remarks said "I am very sorry to listen to this sorry tale presented by the Secretary in his report regarding the grants for the construction of the building and further improvement of the Institute. I think that those who are entrusted with the higher authority or have an opportunity to get to close quarters with Government or connected with the managing committee should try their level best to get money for the institute. It does not seem well to start an institute and we should leave the thing half finished or almost unfinished.

As regards the lecturer I wanted to thank him but he had to go away on account of engagement elsewhere. I was very glad to listen to the points which he put before us and in regard to one or two points that he mentioned, I was reminded of a passage in *R̥g-Veda* which was earlier than the *Vedāṅga Jyotiḥ* where reference is given to the 13th month. In the *Vedāṅga Jyotiḥ* we have not got a perfect record and that fact should give us the hint to pursue further in this line.

Dr. Gorakh Prasad told us that the Mohamedans cared only for the lunar months and the Europeans for the Solar months and that we Hindus have propounded a system

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based on solar and lunar months. It shows the spirit of Hinduism. It shows the synthetic character of our philosophy and religion. Islam and Christianity are not outside us. We absorbed them; we synthesised them. Jinnah has lectured in this hall and there is the picture of a Christian Governor in this hall. Our Hinduism is so tolerant as to incorporate all and Mr. Jinnah is one symbol of this great Brotherhood. I wish every one of us should try his level best to get funds for the institute and make it a faithful accomplice as early as possible."

With these brief remarks, the Chairman declared the meeting closed.

Special General Meeting.

Just after the annual general meeting, a special general meeting of the General Council of the *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* was held in the same hall with Prof. Ranade in the Chair.

This meeting was convened to consider the proposal of raising the subscription of the ordinary membership from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 due to the increased rates of printing charges and to amend the Bye-law accordingly.

| | Old rates | Present rates |
|------------------------------|------------|---------------|
| | Rs. as. p. | Rs. as. p. |
| Composing per page | 3 0 0 | 4 12 0 |
| Printing per form. | 5 0 0 | 8 0 0 |
| Folding including stitching. | | |
| per form. | 2 0 0 | 3 0 0 |
| Cover Printing. | 4 0 0 | 6 8 0 |
| Cover Composing. | 2 0 0 | 3 0 0 |

The secretary explained the present position with regard to printing charges in the Indian Press which has been printing the institute's journal. He pointed out the disparity between the old and the present rates.

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This is the position and therefore the meeting has been called to consider whether we can raise the subscription from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 for ordinary membership.

Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya said: "I support the proposal made by the Secretary for the raising of the subscription whether we take into consideration the present enhanced rates of the Indian Press or not the question remains that the standard of expenditure is going up everywhere. We have now to spend more on everything. These rates that were fixed were based on economic standards of the pre-war period. Now in the post war period, we have to spend more money for everything. The whole political economy of the world has changed altogether. This proposal made by the Secretary is a more modest one viz., that we raise the subscription from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 for ordinary Membership.

One thing, however, I would suggest that in future all such cases of changes in our rules should come before the general body through the Executive. Today the Secretary wanted to place it before the Executive, but there was no time. It should be our general policy to have these things through the Executive." The proposal was carried unanimously and the subscription for Ordinary Membership from 1947 was fixed at Rs. 12 per year.

The proposal to fix subscription for Membership for foreign countries was left to the Executive Committee to decide. Thereupon, while proposing a vote of thanks to the chair, Dr. Ishwari Prasad said, "I should like to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman. In his remarks he has made an appeal for Collection of funds for the Institute. If this Institute has to work I think the members ought to act vigorously. Little has been done since the Institute was founded and in this respect the members of the University staff and other gentlemen who are members of this body should exert themselves vigorously. I should suggest

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

that a committee should be appointed now which will make efforts to collect money among its influential citizens; they might also call upon the Government. Those who have influence in the public may go about and ask rich and influential people to contribute liberally to the institute. In any case something has to be done very vigorously in order to collect money for the Institute, so that the work should be carried on satisfactorily. It is for the meeting to decide."

It was decided that the suggestion of Dr. Iswari Prasad may be sent to the Executive Committee for taking necessary action.

Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya while supporting Dr. Iswari Prasad, said "this might be included in the minutes of the previous proceedings of the general meeting."

There being no more business, the Secretary, while proposing a vote of thanks to the members said, I thank you all who have taken the trouble to form the quorum and conduct the meeting. Before we disperse it is my solemn duty to thank the authorities of the Hindu Boarding House who have been so kind to allow us to occupy at least one of their halls (where they could have easily allotted 12 students) for the use of our library. We are exceedingly sorry we have not been able to shift from this place and vacate the Hall so long. We hope that they will kindly allow us to remain here till we have got our own building. I once more thank you all.

Annual Report of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.

THE activities of the Institute during the year 1946 have not been very encouraging. The Sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive Committee to draw up plans and prepare estimates for the buildings of the Institute and of the list of equipment, met on February 6, 1946 and approved of the scheme and the estimates drawn up under the supervision of Mr. D. H. R. Rao, B.E., A.M.I.E., Engineer of the Allahabad University. This was subsequently sent on to Government. The Secretary, Education Department of the U. P. Government, returned the plans and the estimates with a request to re-submit them having got them confirmed by a competent engineer, through the Director of Public Instruction along with the estimates of the furniture and other equipment based on the quotations of reliable firms.

Accordingly, the plans confirmed by the Municipal Engineer, Allahabad, and the estimates based on the quotations taken from Messrs Godrej and Boyce Ltd., Bombay for steel furniture, the Allahabad Christian Workshop for wood work, and the Allahabad Universal Engineering Co., Ltd., for electric furniture and for the buildings from the Allahabad University Engineer, altogether amounting to Rs. 2,58,298-9-0 were again sent to the Government through the Director of Public Instruction on September 19, 1946.

The Government returned all these through the D. P. I. (Vide their letters G. O. No. A-7073,—XV—173-45, dated Dec. 18, 1946; No. (F.1)-10177-II-27(18), dated Allahabad January 3, 1947) with the remark that "the Governor regrets that it is not possible to sanction any grant to the Institute."

Again, as usual the Secretary of the Institute sent to the Government the Annual Estimated Budget through the D. P. I. for a recurring grant-in-aid to the Institute on September 26, 1946. The D. P. I. further asked the Institute to submit a budget for a deficit grant from July 1946 to March 1947 (Vide his letter No. F. (1)/18030-II-27 (18), dated Allahabad, December 18, 1946).

Just after this, the Secretary of the Institute had an opportunity to represent personally these matters to the Hon'ble Minister of Education, U.P. Government and explain to him the urgent need of having a building for the Institute and also of having a suitable grant from the U. P. Government which may enable the Institute to get grant from other Provincial Governments. The Hon'ble Minister gave a patient hearing and took from the Secretary a copy of the estimates and also an account of the grants which the Bombay Government gives to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. (I may be permitted to mention here an account of the grants of which the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona gets from the Bombay Government from the Report of the Institute for 1931-32; (1) Bombay Government grants Rs. 27,500-0-0, (2) Grants from other sources Rs. 12,321-0-0, (3) Grants from States and Universities.... Besides, the Bombay Government, have placed at the disposal of the Bhandarkar Institute the entire publication of the Bombay Sanskrit Series from which the Institute gets a fairly good income). But to our great disappointment the Education Secretary to the U.P. Government has sent the following reply (Vide his letter D.O. No. A 7907/XV/473-45, dated Lucknow, February 6, 1947)—“In this connection I am desired to inform you that Government regret that it is not possible to help the Institute in moving into a bigger building by sanctioning any grant at present.”

As regards the grant of lease of the plot of land in the local Alfred Park for the construction of the buildings of the Institute, I am glad to inform the Council that the Government have formerly transferred it to the Institute and that the lease has been registered only today, on February 20, 1947.

NEED OF HAVING A BUILDING

We strongly feel that without having a building for the Institute, it is not possible for the activities of the Institute to be expanded. The Hall which the authorities of the Hindu Boarding House have kindly placed at our disposal is now packed with printed books, manuscripts and journals. There are 20 Almirahs which leave very little space for the Pandit and the Research scholar to work. Again, according to a clause of the lease it is necessary to get the building constructed within three years. Moreover, it seems that unless the correction of the buildings is now taken up, it is difficult to get any good donations.

MEMBERSHIP

The total number of Ordinary Members on the 31st of December, 1946 was 85 against 61 last year. Twenty-four new members have been enrolled in course of the year. Three of the Ordinary members have compounded for Life-membership. Thus with 77 Life-members, 20 Donors, 2 Ex-officio and 2 nominated members, 9 Honorary Members and 85 Ordinary Members the total number of the members of the Institute at present is 194 against 164 of the last year. I am sorry to mention the sad demise of our revered Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, who had inaugurated the Institute and Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar one of our Honorary members.

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ANNUAL REPORT

MEETINGS

There were three meetings of the Executive Committee. The Finance and Research Committee each met twice.

PUBLICATIONS

During the period under review Vol. III, Parts 2, 3 and 4 and Vol. IV. Part 1 of the Quarterly Research Journal of the Institute consisting of about 500 pages and 2 plates have been published. The Board of Editors have had a very difficult time. Strike after strike in the Press and disturbances in the city put serious obstacles in our way. It is, however, a matter of great satisfaction that even then we are only three months late, while we find that several research journals of the country have been either temporarily discontinued or are running several months late.

We took up the publication of the Sanskrit Records in possession of the Imperial Records Department, Government of India, last April. The Sanskrit portion along with a long historical Introduction has been printed. The notes are to be printed now. In all the book will consist of about 300 pages. The cost of the printing of this book will be met from the donations which His Highness the Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal has kindly promised for the purpose.

LIBRARY

Most of the books received for review in the Journal have been placed in the Institute Library. The Government of Baroda has presented three volumes, while two volumes have been presented by the Government Press, Allahabad. Besides, we have also purchased 6 volumes specially for the work of the research scholar.

In the Manuscript Section no fresh addition has been made this year. I am glad to announce that all the manuscripts present in the Library have been now classified and 700 manuscripts have been so far catalogued. Card-board has been put on both the sides of each of the manuscripts. We have not, however, been able to get sufficient cloth for binding each of the manuscripts so far.

The Institute has got on its exchange list 47 Research Journals and Magazines, of which five are foreign. Efforts are being made to make the sets complete by getting the back numbers of the Journals either free of cost or at cost price. Through the kindness of some of the Editors we have been able to complete the sets of a few journals.

CONFERENCE

The Institute was invited to send delegates to the 13th All-India Oriental Conference held under the auspices of the Nagpur University in October last. Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya and the Secretary were sent as delegates of the Institute and the Institute was enlisted as a member of the Conference by paying the Conference Fee. The Research Scholar also accompanied us to the Conference where he also read a paper.

RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIP

The U.P. Government were kind enough to give us a non-recurring grant of Rs. 3000 last year which enabled us to award a research scholarship of the value of Rupees 100 per month from July 1946 in Indian Philosophy. The scholarship was awarded to Mr. A. S. Nataraja Ayyar, M.A., LL.M., an Advocate of the Madras High Court, to work on *the Mīmāṃsā Rules of Interpretation*. The scholar has been working from July 1946 and has collected enough material on the subject and has been able to write out the first chapter of his book.

We have been very keen to organise special lectures on topics of public interest through scholars of reputation. This year we could have only two lectures: one on the Date of the Kuru-war and the other on the relation of the *Bhagavadgītā* to the *R̥gveda* by Professor V.B. Athavale, M.Sc., F.R.G.S., H.P.T. College, Nasik. These lectures provoked a good deal of discussion amongst scholars and several papers have been written on these two important topics. Due to the disturbed conditions of the city it could not be possible to arrange for more lectures.

PLAN FOR FUTURE ACTIVITIES

I may also add here that the Executive Committee has appointed a sub-committee to draw up a scheme for publishing an authoritative History of Sanskrit Literature including all its branches with the kind co-operation of experts. We hope the scheme will soon be placed before the Executive Committee for its approval. Besides, we are trying to collect unpublished rare and important manuscripts of Sanskrit texts for publishing. Correspondence is going on with persons who are expected to meet the cost of such publications. Besides, we want to award more Research Scholarships for higher studies.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS

This is in brief the report of our activities. The Secretary feels it necessary to point out that we could not collect any fresh funds this year for the Institute. Those whose influence has been the chief source of its income, namely, the President, the Rt. Hon. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who has been all along seriously ill, and Dr. Amaranatha Jha, the Vice-President, who has been out of India almost throughout the whole of year, could not find any opportunity to exert their influence.

We do not expect any grant for the buildings from the U.P. Government at least in the near future. Our President and the Vice-Presidents are so much occupied with more important and bigger problems of the country that they do not get much opportunity to do as much service to the Institute as they desire. No doubt, they will never miss any opportunity to help the growth of the Institute, but we should remember that it is also the duty of every one of us to do our best to expand the Institute by finding out means to collect funds for having a suitable building for it and making it a fully equipped institution with up-to-date publications, collection of manuscripts and award of more research scholarships.

Lastly, the Secretary takes this opportunity of expressing his sense of gratitude to those who have helped the Institute with generous donations, contribution of articles and presents of books for review. It is hoped with the kind co-operation of the members and public we shall be able to give a better account of our activities when we meet next.

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ANNUAL REPORT

Copy of the Audit Report of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
Allahabad for the year 1945-46 (ending 31st March, 1946).

INCOME

| Details | Up to 31-3-45 | From 1st April 1945 to 31st March 46 | Total |
|--|-----------------------|--|---------------------|
| Donations A/C including Govt. grant | 1,20,544-8-10 | 4953-0-0 | 1,25,497-8-10 |
| Life-Membership A/C | 3,169-0-0 | 449-4-0 | 3,618-4-0 |
| Annual Membership A/C | 1,091-2-0 | 479-14-0 | 1,571-0-0 |
| Benefactors A/C | 1,750-0-0 | 0-0-0 | 1,750-0-0 |
| Interest A/C | 0-0-0 | 9722-9-8 | 9,722-9-8 |
| Mr. Mishra's A/C | | 99-14-0 | 99-14-0 |
| TOTAL | 1,26,554-10-10 | 15,704-9-8 | 1,42,259-4-6 |

| EXPENDITURE | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| General Expenses | 1,834-01-07 | 594-02-10 | 2,428-04-05 |
| Postage A/C | 45-08-00 | 22-00-03 | 67-08-03 |
| Quarterly Journal A/C | 3,159-12-03 | 2,537-9-09 | 5,697-06-00 |
| Surplus | 1,21,515-5-00 | 12,550-12-10 | 1,34,066-1-10 |
| TOTAL | 1,26,554-10-10 | 15,704-9-8 | 1,42,259-4-6 |

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| Surplus income | | Almirahs and Shelve A/C | 284-0-0 |
| Over Expenditure | 1,34,066-1-10 | Securities A/C | 1,28,610-8-7 |
| | | Cash at Bank | 5,170-7-3 |
| | | Suspense A/C | 1-2-0 |

(Sd.) Dharmakishore,
Asst. Accountant, Allahabad,
Honorary Auditor.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RISE OF THE SIKH POWER. By N. K. Sinha, published by the University of Calcutta ; pp. 174, Price Rs. 5. 1946.

Dr. Sinha is not new to the students of Indian History. He has contributed several volumes to and is a well known worker in the field of Modern Indian History. The book is divided into eight chapters and light has been thrown on the rise of the Sikhs during the years of decline of the Mughals. During the period of confusion that followed, the two rising powers were Marhattas and the Sikhs but none of the two showed any farsightedness and did not realise the vital need of the hour viz., unity amongst themselves. The Marhattas failed to grasp the realities of the situation and the Sikhs held the view that the Marhattas were intruders.

After the battle of Panipat the Marhattas receded into the background for a while and the Sikhs gained more and more strength. Dr. Sinha is of opinion, "that Ahmad Shah Abdali's method defeated its own purpose. It enabled the Sikhs to organise war by means of war." Gradually the Sikhs succeeded in ousting the Afghans from the Punjab and from the year 1767 the year of the last invasion of Abdali, the position of the Sikhs began to grow stronger. Between 1767 and 1773 the Sikhs succeeded in extending their sway from Saharanpore in the East to Attock in the West from Multan in the South to Kangra and Jammu in the North. Dr. Sinha has further described how the Sikhs formed themselves into Misl or confederacies, twelve in number and has also given an account of the cis-Sutlej Sikhs and has thrown light on the offensive and defensive role of the Sikhs.

In the last two chapters, Dr. Sinha has discussed the feudal form of the confederate organisation of the Sikhs.

He considers the central government of the Sikh confederation very weak in spite of its theocratic character. Every Misl through a component part was practically independent.

If the Sikhs showed signs of decline, Dr. Sinha, holds, it was inevitable. The chiefs of Misls degenerated from self-sacrificing fighters for the National cause into self seeking free-booting bosons, and ultimately the rule of the strong individual emerged.

Towards the end, Dr. Sinha has given a useful bibliography and on the whole the book is a useful one. It is expected that Dr. Sinha will develop the points which have been dealt with rather summarily. Rise of Sikhs is a glorious chapter in the history of India and needs a very thorough handling as Dr. Hari Ram Gupta has done so far as the early History is concerned. -

—O. P. BHATNAGAR.

THE SAYINGS OF RAMKRISHNA—With an explanatory life of Ramkrishna—compiled by Swami Abhedananda, Published by the Ramakrishna Vedanta Math 19 B, Raja Rajakrishna Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. July, 1946; pages 14+244. Price Rupees Three.

The name of Ramakrishna Paramahansa has become a byword. With the various cultural activities in India and in America and other branches of social service in the shape of schools, colleges and hospitals Ramakrishna has become a distinct source of inspiration in modern India.

Swami Abhedananda was one of his foremost disciples. He heard directly from the lips of the Master and arranged his sayings in the book under review in four chapters—God, Saviour, Spiritual life and Parables. The chapter dealing with Spiritual life is the longest and of course, the much needed one for the student and man-of-affairs turning his thoughts towards God.

The sayings are replete with divine wisdom and the book contains the essentials of Hinduism from the lips of one who not only knew what Hinduism was, in theory, but lived the life of a Hindu saint.

The greatness of Ramakrishna is also attested by two outstanding facts. The first is that his disciples Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedaranda successfully carried on the message of their Master in America and were instrumental in founding centres of religion and culture which are carrying on their activities even today. The second factor is that western savants have paid unstinted homage to the greatness of Ramakrishna and we may instance Prof. Max Muller and Romain Rolland who have written the life of Ramakrishna in a spirit of deep faith and unbounded admiration. The centenary celebrations of the birth of Ramakrishna were celebrated in India in 1936 and 3 volumes of essays have been published under the name of the "Cultural Heritage of India" and in fact, Hindu culture and tradition from the times of the Vedas and Upanishads shows a continuity of development down to the present day culminating in the life of its saints like Ramakrishna.

The sayings are written in chaste and simple English. Sanskrit words are explained in full so that even a foreign reader could understand them. An account of the main incidents of Ramakrishna's life is given in 32 pages.

A word of praise is deservedly due to the *Ramakrishna Vedanta Matha*, Calcutta, for the fine paper, good printing and flexible gilt cover which all remind one of the presentation copies of the Bible.

We heartily commend the book to those who are interested in the teachings of the Paramahansa.

ŚATAKA-TRAYAM OF BHARTRHARI—For the first time critically Edited by Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI. With an annotated introduction by the editor.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

anonymous Sanskrit commentary Edited by Pandit K. V. Krishnamoorthi Sharma of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Bhartiya Vidya Series No. 9. Published by Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pages 13 + 8 + 176. Price Rs. 5-8-0. 1946.

Bharṭṭhari or his *Śataka-Traya* is famous among all classes of students. Even as early as 1651, Abraham Roger translated his writings in the Dutch language. And now, many of our vernaculars contain some or much of his writings. This brought in many interpolations, variations, and discrepancies in original Sanskrit text. Its popularity gave way to many misconceptions about the size, structure and contents of its original. So, there was a long-felt need for a critical edition. Prof. D. D. Kosambi deserves our congratulation for having removed this desideratum by having brought out such an edition.

The book contains introductions in English and Sanskrit, besides the *Paddhati* Division of the Text. Prof. D. D. Kosambi has consulted over two hundred Mss. He has for the sake of convenience divided them into Devanagari, Telugu, Grantha, and Malayalam groups by classifying the scripts. Practically all the Mss are corrupt. But some of them have individuality of their own for instance नार, म४ and म५. The influence of Northern recension on some of them cannot be wholly denied. The frame-work is liable to change in every version, for instance, in the Tukā Brahmānanda version. (तु१).

Prof. Kosambi's procedure in fixing the order of the verses seems to be most scientific. Besides, his selection of 'a reading that explains all variants' is generally good; for that is a risky task of an editor. This adds to the beauty of a balanced and well-adjusted structure of the text.

Prof. K. V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma has edited the anonymous Sanskrit commentary with great care. He has tried to avoid all the possible errors that are likely

to have crept in. He has included the variant in commentary too. His calligraphic knowledge is remarkable, as is evident from the handling of this commentary—such a text as has changed its framework, according to some, many times.

Prof. Kosambi's work is commendable. We may easily recommend the edition to our readers. We are looking forward with eagerness to the comprehensive edition of *Śatakatrayam*, which may throw more further light on Bhartṛhari.

THE RIGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE-HISTORIC INDUS VOL. I.

By Swami Sankarananda. Foreword by Bhupendranath Datta D.Phil. Published by the Abhedananda Academy of Culture, 19 B. Raja Rajakrishna Street, Calcutta. 2nd Edition pages x. 8 + 40 + 159. Price Rs. Eight.

The subject of the Indus Valley civilisation has opened up a new chapter in the history of India and it is difficult to arrive at conclusions which could be unanimously accepted by all students. The materials which have come to light though ample are capable of yielding more than one conclusion. Sir John Marshall, the ex-Director-General of Archaeology for India, is the official interpreter of the finds. It is highly refreshing to find that Indian scholars have studied the same materials with true critical insight so necessary for historians and it is not surprising that they have arrived at results which are often opposed to the view of spokesman of the Government. Among such Indian scholars who have worked on the subject Swami Sankarananda is one and he deserves our thanks for laying bare one of the earliest periods of Indian History. The 2nd edition is a substantial improvement on the first edition which we had occasion to review earlier and is really a new book. *Inter alia*, students of religion will be indebted to Swami

Sankararada for establishing that the Śiva-linga worship in the linga (अल्प) form has nothing to do with any cult or cults of other countries and thus the fangled ideas of foreigners will no longer show their appearance in the scholarly world. The logic and argument exhibited on every page makes the book very authoritative both for the student of Indian History and for the scholars who are now contemplating of bringing out a complete History of India by its own historians. There is an elaborate foreword by Dr. Bhupendranath Datta discussing all the points at issue.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTEENTH INDIAN PHILOSOPHIC CONGRESS. Lahore, 1943. Part II, pp. iv 289+4. Editor Dr. J. M. P. Mahadevan.

The above contains 30 of the papers presented to the 18th Indian Philosophy Congress held at Lahore in 1943. The first paper is the presidential address of Prof. P. N. Sreenivasachariar containing much food for laymen and politicians in power. The philosopher reasons in all various ways that "mankind should give up the present day antagonisms based on differences of race, culture and religion"; but the difficulty lies in the politician holding the reins of government following this principle and enforcing it among the lay public. The addresses of some of the sectional presidents of the Congress are also included in the book. Mr. Raghavendrachar of Mysore delivered the presidential address on Madhva's Absolute in the Indian Philosophy section. Dr. J. M. P. Mahadevan contributes an article on Māṇḍukya Kārikās supporting the traditional view that the Kārikās exhibit both unity of theme and unity of authorship. That Madhva is not a monist is the subject of another paper. There are interesting articles on Kant, Hegel, Bergson and on Jainism and Buddhism. The volume under review maintains the high level of scholarship expected of such a body as the Indian Philosophic Congress.

RULES OF MEMBERSHIP

3. The Institute shall consist of

(1) **Donors**, who shall be of four categories :—

- (i) *Patrons* shall be persons donating Rupees Twenty-five thousand or more, in cash or kind.
- (ii) *Vice-Patrons* shall be persons donating Rupees Five thousand or more, in cash or kind, but less than Rupees Twenty-five thousand.
- (iii) *Benefactors* shall be persons donating Rupees One thousand or more, in cash or kind, but less than Rupees Five thousand.
- (iv) *Associates* shall be those persons, who make gift of books, manuscripts or other articles and approved by the Executive Committee.

(2) **Members**,—

- (iv) *Ordinary Members* shall be those who pay an annual subscription of Rs. 12/- a year, payable on the first day of January every year, which may be compounded by payment of Rupees One Hundred and Forty within the course of a year, and thus become Life-members.

Provided that Persons desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member shall be nominated by one member and seconded by another, the nominating member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name and address, occupation or status. The nomination will be considered by the Executive Committee and the election shall be by a majority of votes.

4. The Donors and Members shall be entitled :

- (1) to attend all meetings of the General Council and to propose, second, and vote for any resolution consistent with the objects of the Institute.
- (2) to propose and second candidates for Ordinary Membership,
- (3) to introduce visitors at the ordinary meetings of the General Council,
- (4) to get copies of the Journal of the Institute free of charge,
- (5) to get other publications of the Institute at such concession rates as may be fixed by the Executive Committee,
- (6) to use the library and the Reading-room of the Institute on such conditions as the Executive Committee may lay down.

सन्दर्भ पुस्तक
REFERENCE BOOK

यह पुस्तक वितरित न हो
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